

**Immigration and the Revival of Nationalist Sentiments in France:
A Nationalistic Rhetoric of Marine Le Pen.**

Nkenganyi N' Mandela Atabong

Master's Thesis

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Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy

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SUMMARY

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Instructor: Mikko Jakonen
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This literary work investigates the rhetoric of Marine Le Pen and how she exploits the worsening immigration crisis to reawaken France's nationalist spirit and to booster the Front National's electoral support as seen in her speeches and electoral results respectively. My data is a careful selection of five speeches of Marine Le Pen between 2011-2017 from the National Front's official website.

This study aims to answer research question as to how the rising number of immigrants is portrayed in Marine Le Pen's rhetoric. This study also seeks to uncover how the immigration crisis is portrayed in her speeches and what kinds of economic, political and socio-cultural impacts those speeches have. The methodology consists of rhetorical analysis of Le Pen's speeches under political, economic and socio-cultural themes.

Based on the analysis of my data, the results prove that Marine Le uses the immigration crisis in her speeches as a sour outcome of globalization and presents herself as the sole candidate that represents the interest of the French people. Through this rhetoric – which she has rebranded to suit republican values through the *dédiabolisation* strategy, she has succeeded in making her rhetoric more acceptable and the National Front party more mainstream.

Key words: Immigration, nationalism, National Front, Marine Le Pen.

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Thank you once more.

DEDICATION

This literary work/research project has been dedicated to my beloved sister; Asongu Delphine Atabong who has gone to rest in the peace of the Lord and forever remains in my heart. May her poor soul rest in the perfect peace of the Lord. We hope to meet again someday in paradise.

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Note on translation

In reality, this academic work involves a rhetorical analysis of purely French language content but is rather undertaken with an English language approach. However, there are some circumstances of direct French language quotation of content. Still in others, content was directly translated to English by the author. I must mention the fact that some English language quotations have been used in this work without necessarily providing the original French version. With fewer alternatives available, these English language translations have been considered by the author and reproduced in this project. In the first two cases, the original French version is added in the footnote for the better understanding by French readers. Some words are exceptionally left in the body text but are italicized and defined when first used.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextual background of the study

The European Union's (EU) political structure is undergoing its most radical transformation since the Treaty of Rome which created its predecessor (EEC) in 1957 was signed. In the last decade, populist parties have slowly but steadily garnered support, entering parliaments in some EU states, still in others, they have taken over control of government like in Austria.

My objective in this research therefore is not to discuss the broad subject of modern nations either as interdependent states through globalization or as conservative sovereign states. Neither am I going to analyze the many varieties of nationalism. With the proliferation of new states after the end of colonization in the 1950s and even later after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, nationalism has been widespread and is even threatening further with growing skepticism about the influence of globalization in undermining states' sovereignty. It is therefore of interest to examine one particular case with a unique catapulting factor (immigration) as it may seem: for the ordeal France is undergoing may serve a lesson for other nations as well. It is worth noting that the sovereign state is still the chief political actor on the world stage, but paradoxically, this sovereignty is being eroded slowly but steadily by diverse contemporary economic and socio-political factors - the reawakening of nationalism is just eminent.

In this research, I analyze the current migration crisis as one of the key components that the National Front under Marine Le Pen is basing its rhetoric on and that is directly influencing the resurgence of nationalist sentiments in France. The political management of the continuous migration flow; I argue, has already changed the political debate, the political structure (bi-partisan) and the immigration policy of France and is mounting even greater pressure on existing democratic political institutions in other EU states. This unprecedented migration flow has resulted in an unprecedented surge not just in populist rhetoric but also in populist ascension to political power in other EU countries that had once been considered as consolidated liberal democracies.

It is however difficult to discuss French immigration policy without relating it to the European Union and more importantly to the signatory states of The Schengen Agreement of 1985. This Schengen Agreement abolished many of the EU's internal borders, enabling passport-free movement across most of the bloc. In this regard therefore, migration within the internal borders of France is not wholly determined by the French immigration policy but the larger EU immigration policy that governs its external borders thereby limiting the territorial sovereignty of France.

1.2 Research motivation

I am particularly motivated to research about this topic not because it has received little academic or political attention but because it is a hot and contemporary issue. While considerable literature has been researched on the impact and possible correlation between immigration and labor market outcomes in Europe at large, there is still more work being done to investigate the possible causal relation between migration and the rise of nationalism and nationalist movements in Europe, and I want to join this team of researchers shifting the tide - especially with the ever-growing concept of globalization that facilitates not only the global enmeshment of money but of personnel as well.

I am a Citizen of a former French colony (Cameroon) and I understand that assimilation was the underlying bedrock of France's colonial policy in the 19th and 20th centuries whereby French colonialist taught their colonized subjects that by accepting French culture – in terms of language, dressing, education, etc. could eventually become French (Tsiwah, 2014). Today, a significant number of people from former French colonies reside in France. However, it is a little difficult to estimate this immigrant population because an 1872 law forbids the French Republic from conducting census based on any form of distinction of its citizens in relation to their race or religious affiliation (Bleich, 2001). A World Population Review (2004) estimated that “85% of the population of Metropolitan France was white or of European origin, with 10% from North Africa, 3.5% Black and 1.5% Asian.” I am therefore interested in getting a little glimpse of why the so much acclaimed assimilation policy in just the last century has become a torn in France's

flesh – bearing in mind that most immigrants from French Africa have (at least in mind) as destination, France.

How is immigration affecting a change in traditional policy (assimilation)? Could the FN's outright attack on the immigration be attributed to the surge in its party's popularity and the possible reawakening of nationalist sentiments in France? So far, this is only suggestive and that is why I put myself to task to investigate how the National Front's (FN) traditional theme of immigration is portrayed in Marine Le Pen's speeches and what outcomes it has on France's nationalist discourse. In this study therefore, I will test the hypothesis that Marine Le Pen exploits high immigration to raise a sense of French nationalism as seen in her speeches

Migration, no doubt has been researched a lot, but I will particularly like to have a deeper understanding of how Marine Le Pen uses this reoccurring human activity to bolster her populist rhetoric. Similarly, I have read a handful of literary works on the resurgence of populist rhetoric in Europe from diverse perspectives. These have been studied from different angles and gotten different results, but I am particularly interested in researching on the influence the recent migration crisis – which Marine Le Pen exploits in her rhetoric. With continues conflicts in the Middle East and Africa, there is therefore glaring expectation of more migrants in Europe in the form of refugees or asylum seekers. In my understanding, contemporary French nationalism is not about territorial and political redefinition like it was in the 19th and 20th centuries, but about economic, cultural and identity redefinition. It therefore becomes a great concern for the social security of these “new comers” especially with the slow but steady rise of extreme-right nationalist ideologies in Europe.

1.3 The National Front rhetoric: previous studies

No aspect of French political life has attracted more attention in recent years than the rise of the National Front under the leadership of Marine Le Pen (Goldhammer, 2015). Interest in this topic as well as the relative number of publications and researchers in this field has drastically increased in the last decade as more and more right-wing parties make their way on to centre stage of the political setting in their respective countries.

What many social science researchers crave to know is how these successes have been possible especially since Marine Le Pen ascended the helm of the FN's mantle of power. Some contemporary studies suggest the surge of the FN's popularity to the dynamics in the electorate (Mayer, 2015). Others capitalize on the economic crisis (e.g. Hewlett, 2012). While still, other researchers whom I share the same school of thought with, associate this resurgence with unprecedented social conditions like immigration (e.g. Della Posta, 2013).

For example, Della Posta (2013) in his article titled *Competitive Threat, Intergroup Contact, or Both? Immigration and the Dynamics of Front National Voting in France* asserts that research on contemporary European politics has proven that the size of immigrant population strongly influences the vote totals for anti-immigrant political parties. He further asserts that competitive threat theories suggest that this correlation should be positive, notwithstanding the fact that intergroup contact theories suggest the contrary. However, our understanding of the surge of the FN support in electoral vote would depend critically on the level of our analysis of this correlation. It is in this direction therefore that I put myself to task. This positive correlation between immigration and populist-right voting according to Della Posta (2013) "has been tested and demonstrated across a wide variety of national and political contexts. At the present moment, it approaches the status of a widely accepted 'social fact'."

Goldhammer (2015) discusses the conditions that favored the reawakening of the National Front in his article *Explaining the Rise of the Front National: political rhetoric or cultural insecurity?* Political analysts believed until recently (2007) that the FN was on its last phase of existence. In the 2007 presidential elections, Jean-Marie Le Pen secured just about 10% of the votes, falling down from the previous election in 2002 with over 16%. The end of the 2007 elections almost saw the party go down on its knees as its coffers were almost empty, and the party's headquarters building had to be liquidated to settle its debts. So what therefore explains this dramatic overturn to great fortune?

Goldhammer (2015) invokes two factors to paint a clear picture of the scenario. First, the 2008 financial crisis that rocked the world economy (especially the euro) revealed in the starkest possible way that France had lost sovereign control of its fiscal policy, independent of its EU partners. This lent credence to the FN's rhetoric that France had lost grip of its economic affairs to foreign financial interests and also control of its 'internal' borders to an invasion of cheap foreign labor. The traditional stigma of xenophobia and racism attached with the party since its founding was somehow alleviated and replaced with economic issues of general concern.

Secondly, the change of leadership from father to daughter in 2011 catapulted the transformation of the party's image. Under this new leadership, the party's rhetoric was altered in a subtle way; it was given a new face-lift, a new vision "as the champion of the victims of globalization and Europeanization rather than a defender of the lost courses of the traditional far-right ideology". The 'new' FN had somehow managed to exploit the weaknesses of the social and economic transformations to potentially offer something more enticing that opened the ears of a significant proportion of the electorate.

This U-turn in the arena of French politics prompted Goldhammer (2015) to assert that "no aspect of French political life has attracted more attention in recent years than the rise of the National Front under the leadership of Marine Le Pen." However, these two explanations of the FN's rise are valid but insufficient.

Another scholar, Goodliffe (2015) explains the FN's growing assertion in relation to the 2014 European election in his article *Europe's salience and 'owning' Euroscepticism: Explaining the Front National's victory in the 2014 European elections in France*. He argues that the National Front won the 2014 European election in first place by 24.86% (French Ministry of Interior) by harnessing French voters' growing discontent about European integration as an electoral issue. His article contends that, on the backdrop of rising unemployment and general social discontent, "Europe assumed unprecedented salience in both national and European elections." Contrary to the mainstream political parties and the radical left, the FN took a strong stance on its Europhobe

position, thereby claiming effective dominance over the European project debate. This gave the FN an upper hand in the Eurosceptic vote to the top electoral field.

Goodliffe (2015) explains that the leadership of the FN exploited growing anti-EU discontent within the French community and further argues that the economic quagmire at the time provided an ideal atmosphere for the FN to bolster its Eurosceptic credentials – which inter alia see the EU project as a scheme that outsources manual labor jobs in France and undermines national sovereignty and promotes unregulated immigration from within and without Europe. With these solid arguments at just the right time, The FN presents itself as the sole party that represents the interest of the Eurosceptic electorate.

Another intriguing aspect in the study of the National Front rhetoric is advanced by Stockemer (2015) in his special article *Explaining the spike in electoral support for the Front National in France*. He asserts that while Jean-Marie Le Pen did not outrightly oppose the FN's label as an extreme right or radical right, Marine Le Pen rather opposes this and labels her party as a Republican party that is embedded in the values of the 5th French Republic. In fact, Marine Le Pen (2014) had earlier asserted that the FN is neither right nor extreme right, but is radically different from the mainstream parties – PS and the UMP (presently the Republicans). Secondly, she has distanced the party's rhetoric from any reference to old school French nationalists like Alexis Carrel and Charles Maurras who were very often referenced by her father Jean Marie Le Pen (Stockemer, 2015).

The party's message under Marine Le Pen is in essence a continuation of the front's signature themes of immigration, insecurity, Euro-globalization, anti-Brussels and anti-Islamification (Le Front National, 2012). These themes are advanced within a populist framework that advances more national sovereignty as the panacea to most problems France is currently facing. However at second sight, there are some important changes the FN has undergone over the past years. Most visible are some changes in the outlook the party gives itself. Marine Le Pen tries to give

the FN a more modern, a more respectable outlook. Some of this new outlook stems from a new rhetoric, the strategy of *dédiabolisation*.

The first contribution by Goodliffe (2015) illustrates that Marine Le Pen and the party leadership took advantage of growing anti-European Union sentiment within the French community in the 2014 European election campaign. Goodliffe (2015) argues that the economic crisis provided an ideal opportunity for the FN to beef up these Eurosceptic credentials, which among others portray the EU as an organization that fosters neoliberal policies, allows outsourcing of manual labor jobs, encourages France's deindustrialization, undermines national sovereignty and encourages non-regulated immigration from non-European countries. By advancing such a Europhobe discourse, Goodliffe (2015) maintains that the FN could pick up latent anti-EU feelings, and present itself as the sole party that defends and respects the interests of the Eurosceptical electorate.

Mayer (2015) presents yet another finding on populist support for the National Front in her article titled *The closing of the radical right gender gap in France?* She asserts that one of the earliest statistical-based finding about populist right-wing electoral support is that they attract more male supporters than female. However, this finding might no longer be true in the French political scenario. In the 2012 presidential election, and contrary to past FN electoral pattern, Marine Le Pen realized an almost equilibrium score among her male and female electorate (Mayer, 2015).

Statistics based research has proven that men are over-represented in manual labor jobs, especially among blue-collar workers (*ouvriers*), and it is from this working-class that most European radical right [including the National Front] draw the most electoral support (Betz, 1994; Kitschelt and McGann, 1995; Kriesi et al , 2008). With the highest statistical rates of unemployment, lowest educational level, income and status, these *ouvriers* turn out to be the biggest losers of globalization by excellence (Betz, 1994; Kriesi et al , 2008; Bornschier & Kriesi, 2012). Judging from an economic perspective, Mayer (2015) asserts that the rhetoric

based on cheap labor from less wealthy EU states and developing countries in general on one hand, and immigrants inside the country on the other, both working together to put the working-class in a situation of more anxiety should be more receptive to the electorate of the radical right. In sharp contrast, women are more likely to be employed in non-manual service jobs, particularly in the public sector. The latter should therefore be in a more secured position [less exposed to the threat of immigration and cheap labor] than the former.

Basing our study on the supply factor [in electoral support], the articles by Stockermer (2015) and Mayer (2015) show that there is change and continuity in the *National Front* electorate. Among others, the FN has made remarkable and impressive gains in electoral support among individuals with low income, low education, blue-collar working class background, and who are dissatisfied with the working of democracy in France.

1.4 Research questions

In this study, I seek to answer four basic questions. The first of which is how the rising number of immigrants is portrayed in Marine Le Pen's speeches. How does Marine Le Pen relate increased crime rate in France to immigrants? How are certain themes (e.g. globalization) portrayed in her speeches and what kinds of economic, political and socio-cultural aspects these speeches have? Lastly, has the National Front successfully rebranded its radical rhetoric to become more accepted?

1.5 Organization of the study

At a time when political changes are ongoing, there is the rising concern to study and understand the dimensions that favor extreme group loyalty to populist politics. I begin this study with a contextual background and the main push to explore on this unique topic. Interestingly, well defined research questions are formulated and a brief review on existing literature related to the context of the study. This literature review is thematically and chronologically organized such

that it correlates each author's contribution to the research. While some of the literature consists of old but cornerstone scripts, the larger part of the literature is rather recent because of the dynamism in the nature of politics.

In the second chapter of this work, I will analyze the context of the study, especially relating to the rise of right-wing movements in Europe in general and the political history of French nationalism and the National Front in particular.

The later chapter would define the concepts that show the tendencies that favor mass migration and the various migration trends. It is also the purpose of this review to define the various concepts associated with identity studies in relation to nationalism. The concepts I will review are 'migration' which is my general concern in relation to the reawakening of nationalism in France. The theory I will review in relation to this is Everett Lee's "comprehensive theory of migration". I would also review globalization as a concept - that does not only influence the economy but migration as well. The next theme will be 'nationalism' as a patriotic concept related to the state as postulated by Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and Spread of nationalism*. The last theme is 'identity' both from an individual and collective perspective. All these three themes contain theories that I will use in my larger argument in the course of this project.

The fourth chapter will provide a detailed explanation of the method used and a description of the data collected. The fifth and most elaborate chapter is the analysis proper and is conducted under four major themes. The last chapter will consist of a brief general discussion and conclusion.

2. CONTEXT

2.1 Populist politics

Populists can be multi-dimensional ranging from libertarians to civil movements, to activist politics, etc. For example, Marine Le Pen wants stricter immigration laws in France, Donald Trump wants to deport undocumented immigrants from the US, Philippines' populist politician Rodrigo Duterte has waged war on drugs and ordered the national police to shoot-to-kill suspected dealers, Austria's Freedom Party wants to deny migrants access to welfare payments, populist Jaroslaw Kaczynski wants to illegalize the phrase "Polish death camps". While still, Bolivia's president has granted farmers the right to grow coca, another populist movement – Podemos wants to grant immigrants voting right in Spain. So therefore, populist politics is not entirely a thing between hard words and hard action as it may also be pacifist.

The Economist publication of December 19th 2016 by M.S. asserts that:

Widespread use of the term "populism" dates to the 1890s, when America's Populist movement pitted rural populations and the Democratic Party against the more urban Republicans. (It was also used to refer to Russia's 19th-century *narodnichestvo* movement, which largely comprised self-hating intellectuals with a crush on the peasantry.) In the 1950s academics and journalists began applying it more broadly to describe everything from fascist and communist movements in Europe to America's anti-communist McCarthyites and Argentina's Peronistas.

Most scholars and politicians use the phrase 'populist' to refer to growing frustration over declines in socio-political and welfare status of a state, or to refer to some nationalist phobia. In a more generalized sense, scholars use the phrase to refer to a "political strategy in which a charismatic leader appeals to the masses while sweeping aside institutions (though not all populist movements have such a leader)" (*The Economist*, 2016). It could well be referred to as a thing of the people versus the elite and the populist claim that they alone represent the interest of the people while all others are illegitimate. While noting the populist general claim, their mode

of operation is however distinctive in two categories – inclusive and exclusive populism. *The Economist* (2016) explains that “exclusive populism focuses on shutting out stigmatised groups (e.g. refugees, Roma), and is more common in Europe. Inclusive populism demands that politics be opened up to stigmatised groups (the poor, minorities), and is more common in Latin America.” However, a more academic definition of populism is advanced by Albertazzi & McDonnell (2008) who assert in their book *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy* that:

Populism is an ideology pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are together depicted as depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice.

2.2 Rise of right-wing movements in Central Europe in review

Amid the 2008 financial crisis and growing economic inequality, increasing dissatisfaction with the European Union, a sharp increase in migration, and a feeling of lost national identity, right-wing parties in several European states have made a remarkable come-back to the center stage of European politics and have also made significant electoral gains. Most of these right-wing parties have a vast policy spectrum, ranging from conservative, nationalist, and populist to far-right neo-fascist.

Recent elections in many European countries – including France, Germany, Austria, Poland, etc. – have proven voters’ strong and increasing support for conservative, populists, right-wing parties. In fact, it comes as a shock to many political analysts who until recently had thought Nazi-style politics was long gone permanently. It was with great difficulty that any extreme right-wing party had won more than 6% of electoral vote in general elections between the early 1970s to mid-1980s. Thirty years on, some of these right-wing parties in the above-mentioned countries receive between twelve and above twenty-three percent of the electoral vote in general elections. Almod et al. (1965) recall that the rise of extreme right-wing political parties (movements) in a democratic political society can endanger democracy itself. It is also worth

recalling according to Halla et al. (2012; 1) that “the Nazis did not come to power through a coup, but through regular elections.”

Interestingly, right-wing political movements are usually more heterogeneous in political agenda than other party families, yet they have a number of strong common ideological features (Mudde, 1996). Today, right-wing political parties have this strong anti-immigration rhetoric which forms the underlying base of their focus. In this regard, one is therefore tempted to prematurely assert that immigration is one of the windows that throw light in explaining the rise to prominence of right-wing parties in Europe and France in particular.

Poland’s Law and Justice Party (PiS)

In the 2015 parliamentary elections, Poland’s populist Law and Justice Party staged a come-back to government by sweeping 39% of the vote. The party presently has the largest representation in the Polish parliament with 216 seats in the ‘Sejm’ and 56 seats in the senate (OSCE, 2008). Traub (2016) asserts that “since assuming power, the party, led by Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who has no official role in government, has moved to restrict public gatherings, strengthen government control of the media and curb the independence of the judiciary.” Recently (June), the EU’s executive body reprimanded Poland for failing to safeguard the rule of law. This was so rare a rebuke that analysts believe the Polish government had grossly over-stepped its bounds.

On the question of refugees, the Law and Justice Party has rejected the allocation of refugees on Polish soil. What is not very clear to me is whether the party is completely anti-immigration or just anti-refugee. However, some PiS politicians have recently been quoted to make controversial comments regarded to be anti-immigration and anti-Islam. Jaroslaw Kaczynski, in 2015 asserted that Poland could no longer accept more refugees because “they could spread infectious

diseases.” In 2017, Mariusz Blaszcz (Interior Minister) stipulated that he would like to emulate “Charles the hammer who stopped the Moslem invasion of Europe in VIII century.” Similarly, in 2017, Patryk Jaki (First Deputy Minister of Justice) asserted that “stopping islamization is his Westerplatte.” To buttress my point further, Joachim Brudzinski (Vice-Marshal of the Sejm) asserted during party rally in Siedice in 2017 that “if not for us (PiS), they (Moslems) would have built mosques in here.” These anti-islam comments come irrespective of the fact that Poland is constitutionally secular.

Unlike the FN, Poland’s Law and Justice Party advocates for greater integration with the European Union based on terms that make this integration beneficial to Poland. Such areas of cooperation include economic, military and energy security. However, the party is grossly skeptical about the formation of a European federation or super-state.

Germany’s Alternative for Germany (AfD)

What intrigues me about this party is the fact that it was founded just four years ago (2013) as a protest movement challenging the euro currency and its policies. On that same year, it narrowly missed the 5% electoral minimal to enter the Bundestag (German Parliament) in the 2013 federal elections. Irrespective of the fact that it missed gaining a seat in the German parliament in 2013, it has made remarkable gains in the just concluded elections for a new Bundestag by sweeping 12.6% (94 seats) of the electoral votes (*The Guardian*, 2017). It is the first right-wing political party to enter the Bundestag since the end of the Second World War and currently stands as the third largest party in parliament.

The party has at the heart of its ideology, the opposition to the euro currency (Eurosceptic) and also to Germany’s support to other Eurozone countries. The AfD articulates that the unfair competition resulting from the Euro free market is sinking the economies of weaker southern states and therefore constantly need to be bailed out. It also calls on Germany to stop ceding

elements of its national sovereignty to the European Union without general the consent of the German people through a referendum. Toeing the line of contemporary general right-wing rhetoric in Europe, the AfD decries the submergence of German national identity and glory from both ‘European integration’ and the accommodation of large numbers of immigrants especially asylum seekers on German soil. Their anti-immigration rhetoric is largely articulated in a way, especially related to Islam.

The party further denounces same–sex marriage and adoption for same-sex couples in favor of civil unions. In essence, it advocates for ‘old gender roles’ that reflect strong family values that is part of German identity (Treeck, 2017). It campaigns against most aspects of modern feminism in favor of traditional roles for women. In essence, I find the following four aspects as the underlying tenets of the AfD discourse: Euroscepticism, immigration, feminism, and sexism.

Austria’s Freedom Party

The Freedom Party is one of the most established European national conservative and right-wing populist party. It is headed by Heinz-Christian Strache and gained considerable momentum in the first round of the presidential election in late April 2017. In fact, the party’s presidential candidate, Norbert Hofer narrowly missed becoming the EU’s first right-wing state leader after he lost the run-off election in May 2017. The party promotes the preservation of Austrian identity and social welfare. Moreover, the party ideology is strongly anti-establishment. First, there has been the long struggle of breaking the dominance of the two major parties (SPÖ and ÖVP). Secondly, the party condemns the concentration of power in the hands of the elite class. In fact, the recent party’s campaign message was based on migration, social justice, security, and direct democracy (*Financial Times*, 2017). As concerns the EU, party leader Strache commented that “Europe and the European Union need to be rethought ... we do not want a centralized European federal state.”

Most interesting for me is the party's stance on the contemporary question of immigration. According to The Local publication of 16th January 2017, Strache is quoted as saying during the party's New Year gathering of about 4,000 followers in the city of Salzburg that what Austria needs is "zero immigration, actually minus immigration, because all illegal individuals and criminals belong outside the country."

Islam is described by Heinz-Christian as "misogynistic, anti-liberal, and as having fascistic worldview." Strache asserts that Austria must "quickly put an end to this policy of Islamization ... otherwise we Austrians, we Europeans will come to an abrupt end" (*Reuters*, 2017). Anti-Islamization is a clear rhetoric of the party and goes further to advocate for a complete ban on face veils. One may, from this point think that the Freedom Party has a questionable reputation with religious freedoms since the party has been traditionally associated with being anti-Semitic. In fact, the Mauthausen Committee (a committee representing victims of Nazi death camps) asserted that the far-right party shares a "distinct closeness to Nazi ideology."

However, the party's general secretary, Hebert Kickl is quoted as saying that; "those seriously concerned about anti-Semitism in Austria should long have focused on the consequences of the new mass migration ... of people flooding into Austria from cultures for which anti-Semitism is virtually part of the daily agenda" (*Daily Sabah*, 2017).

2.3 History of French Nationalism

With France's famous history of numerous wars with England, internal revolutions, frequent regime changes, fragmented politics, one should therefore not be too obsessed with its national identity issues. However, the kick-off of French Nationalism can be traced back to the aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789 when Napoleon Bonaparte advocated for French nationalism based on the values of "liberty, equality, fraternity" and also justified French expansionism through military campaigns to enlighten other nations across Europe and beyond on the ideals of the

French Revolution. Nationalism like populism can be violent as “after Napoleon's defeat and downfall, French nationalism from the 19th to early 20th century took on an assertive and extreme patriotism that supported military force to achieve its political goals [especially during its occupation by Germany in WWI]” (Motyl, 2001).

Though France may seem to have emerged on the winning side of WWII, it suffered severe losses both at home and abroad. Decolonization of its overseas territories followed shortly after the end of the war. Another reloaded nationalist front [Free France] emerged under the leadership of General Charles de Gaulle, who after becoming president of the 5th Republic, “sought to resurrect national pride. De Gaulle sought to make France the leader of an independent Europe - free from American and Soviet influence” (Motyl, 2001). So therefore, France’s nationalism has strongly been inspired by their ability to resist occupation [from Germany during the two world wars] by referring to the nation as fatherland. But there is a fundamental question on the interchangeable use of the words ‘nationalists’ and ‘patriots’ – a term the FN has commonly exploited in its populist rhetoric. In his book *Nationalism in France. Class and Nation Since 1789*, Jenkins (1990) writes:

They would all claim an equal right to say what they mean by 'la nation' and many would prefer to use the term 'la patrie'. Is there a fundamental difference between '*nationalistes*' and '*patriotes*'? Is it a question of left or right politics, or of class? And is the quest for national identity an eternal French search, or has the nation out-lived its usefulness as fact, fantasy or discourse?

2.4 The National Front

The National Front was founded in 1972 to give a group of French nationalist movements a united front with Jean-Marie Le Pen as its first president. Despite its struggle for survival in the early years of its birth, it has become the major force of French nationalism (Shields, 2007). My point of concern here is how was this small and infamous party which in the 1970s struggled to

get only 0.52% of the electoral vote in its first general elections in 1973 end up as a potential breaker of the long established French bipartisanship?

The National Front based its campaign in the 1973 general elections under the themes of liberalism and strict immigration policy. The campaign was disastrous as they got only 0.52% of the vote. Still in the presidential elections the following year, the FN managed to get 0.75%, an insignificant increase. However, the tides changed in 1984 where in the European elections, they managed to get 10.95% in the European elections, ranking them fourth just beating the declining Communist Party (Birch, 2015). This marked the beginning of business for the National Front and transformed the party from a loosely ideological and incoherent party to a well organized political front.

In the late 1990s, the FN was faced with internal feud as a faction of the party led by Bruno Mégret, which considered itself more mainstre and committed to form alliances with other right-wing parties broke away. With this split, the FN was greatly weakened. Political analysts believed until recently (2007) that the FN was on its last phase of existence. In the 2007 presidential elections, Jean-Marie Le Pen secured just about 10% of the votes, falling down from the previous election in 2002 with over 16%. The end of the 2007 elections almost saw the party go down on its knees as its coffers were almost empty, and the party's headquarters building had to be liquidated to settle its debts.

After Jean-Marie Le Pen's resignation as party president, the stage was set for a new era for the party. 2011 therefore marked a symbolic year for the National Front not just because it marked the transition of party leadership from Jean-Marie Le Pen to Marine Le Pen but also because it marked a new dawn in party rhetoric and the beginning of the de-demonization strategy. In this election, Marine Le Pen beat Bruno Gollnisch with a 67.65% vote and the *dédiabolisation*¹ era had just begun.

¹ *Dédiabolisation* – loosely translated as dedemonization refers to a return to realism of the FN

2.5 Marine Le Pen

Marion Anne Perrine Le Pen alias Marine Le Pen was born in August 5th 1968 in Neuilly-sur-Seine, France (Erlanger, 2010). She is the youngest of three daughters and her childhood was shaped by the political career of her father, who at some point expressed a number of controversial views, and later was a target of a bomb attack that greatly damaged the family's apartment building in 1976 (*NPR*, 2017). This and other less antagonistic rebukes of her father's views, it is argued, may have played on her own current political stand. Marine Le Pen is a graduate of the University of Pantheon-Assas (University of Paris II) where she obtained a degree in law in 1991, and later studied to obtain an advanced degree in Criminal Law in 1992. In that year, she was licensed to practice law and she worked as an attorney in Paris between 1992 and 1998 (Erlanger, 2010).

Marine Le Pen officially joined the National Front in 1986 and rose to join the administrative apparatus of the party in 1998. She served as FN's director for legal affairs until 2003 when she became the party's vice president. In 2007, she managed her father's presidential campaign. She has again served the party in a number of municipal and regional positions in the government. First, she was voted as regional councilor (1998 – present), Member of European Parliament (2004-2017), municipal councilor in Henin-Beaumont (2008-2011). Le Pen ascended the hierarchy of the National Front in 2011 with an impressive 67.65% of the vote defeat of rivalry Bruno Gollnisch, thereby succeeding her father who had been at the helm of the party since he founded it in 1972 (Erlanger, 2010).

From 2011, when she became the party's leader onward, she's emerged to the national and international spotlight from her father's shadow. She has successfully distanced herself and the party from the previously more extreme views. While she has retained the party's traditionally established anti-immigration stance, she has technically rebranded the party's long-term Eurosceptic rhetoric to suite Republican values. She has strongly criticized anti-Semitism that

had stigmatized the party under her father, while bringing up a new and widespread anti-Islam criticism.

She has unsuccessfully campaigned for two consecutive rounds in the French presidential elections (2012 and 2017). In the 2012 election, Le Pen secured the third position. Though it did not push her to the second round, it represented the party's best ever performance in a presidential election – surpassing her father's 2002 performance that sent him to a runoff with Jacques Chirac. The National Front was beginning to gain momentum as a viable option in the face of a failing Francois Hollande and his socialist team. The embattled French economy made a considerable section of the electorate to consider the EU more of an obstacle rather than a blessing, hence Marine Le Pen and her Euroscepticism was becoming a better option. The May 2014 local elections proved this right as the National Front and its affiliates won more than twelve mayoral races.

In recent times, the National Front under the leadership of Marine le Pen has attracted greater attention especially with its rapid rebirth to the center of French politics. Political analysts believed until recently (2007) that the FN was on its last phase of existence. In the 2007 presidential elections, Jean-Marie Le Pen secured just about 10% of the votes, falling down from the previous election in 2002 with over 16%. The end of the 2017 elections almost saw the party go down on its knees as its coffers were almost empty, and the party's headquarters building had to be liquidated to settle its debts. Yet after Sarkozy's 5-year mandate, the FN rose back to its feet, stronger and even more determined than ever before as a right-wing party and has continued to move on even under Francois Holland's mandate as French president.

The crux of my analyses begins with what explains this dramatic overturn to great fortune? (Goldhammer, 2015; 134) asserts that two factors are broadly invoked here.

First, the world financial crisis that began in 2008 that also affected the Euro (€), revealed in the clearest manner possible that France could no longer freely model its own fiscal policy without the consent of its EU partners in Brussels and hence unable to defend its

social model – ‘based on a mixed economy, a highly regulated labor market, and generous social benefits supported by high taxes.

This gave the FN reason to believe that France had lost grip of its economic affairs to foreign financial interests and also control of its ‘internal’ borders to an invasion of cheap foreign labor. The traditional stigma of xenophobia and racism attached with the party since its founding was somehow alleviated and replaced with economic issues of general concern.

Secondly, the change of leadership from father to daughter catapulted the transformation of the party’s image. In fact, in 2015, controversial comments by former party leader Jean-Marie Le Pen led to a squabble with Marine Le Pen, which later in the same year led to the dismissal of the former from the Front National. Under this new leadership, the party’s rhetoric was altered in a subtle way, it was given a new face-lift, a new vision “as the champion of the victims of globalization and Europeanization rather than a defender of the lost courses of the traditional far-right ideology” (Marine Le Pen). The ‘new’ FN had somehow managed to exploit the weaknesses of the social and economic transformations to potentially offer something more enticing that opened the ears of a significant proportion of the electorate.

In the November 13, 2015 French terrorist attacks in the cities of Paris and Saint-Denis which left 130 dead and 413 injured, Le Pen was swift to lay blame on France’s immigration policy – bearing in mind that some of the attackers had entered Europe through the refugee corridor (Chrisafis, 2017). This was the deadliest terrorist attack in France since the end of WWII and the deadliest in the European Union since the Madrid train bombings in 2004. It is worth noting that there had been similar attacks in January of that same year - the attacks on a Jewish supermarket in Paris and on the Charlie Hebdo offices that killed 17 people and wounded 22. Growing anti-Islam sentiment was becoming the order of the day and boosted the performance of the Front National in the December 2015 regional elections.

2.6 Refugee crisis

To get a better understanding of the eminent rise to prominence of the conservative, populist, and “far-right” National Front in France, it will be worth re-examining the socio-political evolutions that I trace back to 2010. This symbolic year dramatically changed the face and pattern of migration in recent history. This year marked the beginning of the ‘Arab spring’ and thus the mass migrations and with a greater percent having Europe as their destination for ‘refuge’. I am by no means saying that before 2010, there were no asylum seekers on European borders fleeing insecure and war-ravaged countries, but that the figures significantly and unexpectedly increased after the onset of the ‘Arab Spring.’

The Arab Spring (Revolution) ignited on the 18th December 2010 in Tunisia and is largely considered a revolutionary wave of both non-violent and violent protests that swept across North Africa and the Middle East. This wave of revolutions quickly spread to Libya, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria where oppressive regimes were either overthrown/deposed or experienced violent uprisings including civil war like in Syria and Yemen. Street demonstrations also took place in other Arab states like Morocco, Algeria, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, Sudan, Oman, Iraq and Iranian Khuzestan. Most of these protests received violent responses from the authorities and counter-demonstrators. In retaliation, the protesters in some cases responded with violence.

Large-scale protests catapulted into civil wars like the Syrian Civil War, Yemeni Civil War, Iraqi Insurgency, Libyan Civil War, which are still ongoing, the Egyptian Crisis. While some regimes were toppled, others held accountable, leadership changed, yet in some cases, imminent power vacuums and struggle ensured like in the Libyan case. All these circumstances ensure a perfect breeding ground for the reign of terror and lawlessness thus leading to the birth of mass exodus – especially of the civilian population to seek refuge in some kind of ‘safe havens’. Many travelling across the Mediterranean Sea in impoverished fishing boats, and others by land through Southeast Europe with destination, Europe (Squires, 2016). These include asylum seekers, and yet others such as economic migrants and even more malicious agents such as ISIS

militants disguised as asylum seekers. It is worth noting that most of these migrants come from Muslim-majority countries south and east of Europe. Eurostat (2015) estimates a record 1.3 million asylum applications in 2015 in the 28-member states of the European Union, Norway and Switzerland.

I am by no means attributing the rapid surge of asylum seeking in Europe only to the Arab Spring. There are other immediate circumstances and interplay of contemporary events – both natural and man-made which also have contributed or are contributing to the endless flow of asylum seekers on European borders. For example, the surge of terrorist activities in Africa such Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Boko Haram in Nigeria, just to name a few. Political authoritarianism and chronic human rights abuses such as in Eritrea, large-scale ethnic and religious conflicts such as in the former ‘Sudan’. Another intriguing cause may be the prolonged drought in East African countries of Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya. Why not mention great instances of insecurity in Middle Eastern countries like Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan?

2.7 Racial tensions

France has a long-standing history of immigration especially after the end of the Second World War. The true face of France’s multi-racial society could be traced back to the 1940s when large numbers of residents from French overseas colonies (especially from Maghreb countries) were taken abroad to help France fight Nazi occupation of parts the country and the in the Western Front in general (*Independent*, 2007 ; *Quartz*, 2017). Similarly, other migrants moved into France during the reconstruction period to take up jobs during the baby boom period between late 1940s and early 1970s. Most of these migrants moved in from Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, and South-East Asia – in fact, all areas of French colonial influence (Davis, 2015).

Some of these immigrants originally thought of as temporary ‘military’ and economic migrants settled in France and were considered as permanent residents. However, many naturalized and

had children or brought over families to France, turning it into a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society even though many continue to regard non-whites in the country as ‘immigrants’ irrespective of where they were born. According to the French National Institute of Statistics (INSEE, 2018), immigrants constituted 9.1% (6 million) of the 66.33 million total population in Metropolitan France by 2014.

However, immigration and racial tensions have become controversies of great concern in the socio-political sphere in present day France’s Fifth Republic ordained by de Gaulle. In fact, the subject of immigration forms the bedrock of the whole National Front rhetoric.

One peculiarity about the French Nation in relation to racial discourse is the concept of the *laïcité*² which lexically means the separation of the religion from the state and its confinement to private space. To further strengthen this law, a legislation³ was passed banning the Muslim headscarf [including the Jewish skullcap and the Sikh turban] in schools (Legifrance, 2004).

The discourse about racial differentiation in the French context is quite difficult to analyze because there is little reliable statistical data related to minorities. In fact, the French legal text states that “France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion. It shall respect all beliefs” (Constitution of France, article 1). In this French republican model, no minority is officially recognized, and no special rights provided for them. It is therefore to document how many victims of racial prejudice are of a different race, or religion.

However, there are numerous news reports on racial tensions in France especially on immigrants. A headline caption of the Sunday Express publication of December 12, 2016 reads thus: “Racial

²*Laïcité* [secularism] means keeping religion separate from the executive, judiciary and legislative branches of government. This includes prohibitions on having a state religion as well as for the government to endorse any religious position, be it a religion or atheism.

³ 1 Law, 15 March 2004, and article 141-5-1 of the Code de l’éducation

tensions in France at boiling point as anti-Muslim graffiti daubed in Grand Mosque.” “In politics, French people, especially young people, are taking on prejudiced attitudes and extreme views because they have forgotten where it leads” said co-curator Evelyne Heyner at a recent (2017) Paris exhibition that explored racism amid tensions in France under the theme *We and the Others, Prejudices of Racism*. These are the common trends that the recent political discourse in France focuses on.

3. THEORITICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Here, I will specifically explore literature that portrays the tendencies that favor mass migration and the various migration trends. It is also the purpose of this review to define the various concepts associated with identity studies in relation to nationalism. This literature review is thematically and chronologically organized such that it correlates each author's contribution to the research as I will use when analyzing my data.

The themes I will review are 'immigration' which is my general concern in relation to the reawakening of nationalism in France. The theory I will review in relation to this is Everett Lee's *Comprehensive Theory of Migration*. The next theme will be 'nationalism' as a patriotic concept related to the state as postulated by Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. The last theme is 'identity' both from an individual and collective perspective. All these three themes contain theories that I will use in my larger argument in the course of this project. While some of the literature consists of old but cornerstone scripts, the larger part of the literature is rather recent because of the dynamism in the nature of politics.

3.1 The nature of migration

According to the National Geographic Society (2005), migrations has in all its ramification has been practiced for time unmemorable throughout human history, starting with the movements of the first human groups from their origins in East Africa to their present locations worldwide. It is worth noting that the phenomenon of migration has been an aged-old practice and has been researched a lot from diverse dimensions and for different purposes. Whether we agree or not, mankind has been on constant move for time immemorial. It's one of the most outstanding of all human activity or behavior. The terminologies used in the different types of movement vary depending on the motive, distance – whether across national/political borders, etc. migration takes place at an array of scales. It may be intercontinental (between continents), intracontinental

(between states in a particular continent), internal (within the same country). It is worth noting that one of the most alarming migration patterns is rural to urban migration – that is the exodus of people from the countryside to urban areas in search of better opportunities. But for the purpose of this research, we will be discussing about external migration (both intercontinental and intracontinental).

This continuous migration from one place to another is triggered by several diverse factors. People can either choose to move (voluntary migration) or be forced to move (involuntary migration). According to the World Migration Report (2013), while migration is a direct result of numerous complex factors, a considerable number migrate in search of areas with more favorable opportunities - to earn a better living, to live in a more agreeable environment (with political and human rights), or for family reunion abroad. These are considered as the pull factors. But there is of course a considerable proportion of people who do not willingly chose to migrate but are forced to move from their homes. Such situations will include refugees fleeing persecution, people devastated by war/conflict or natural disasters or victims of trafficking.

Contrary to popular view, migration is not just a thing of the poor as it is increasingly becoming characteristic of bureaucrats, highly educated individuals, specialized professionals, technocrats, technologists and many more that migrate about serving the interest of the global economy. Globalization has led to increased migration flows as travelling is ever becoming easier and cheaper, and labor demand varies between different regions of the world. In the case of Europe, one can argue without fear of contradiction that the recent huge influx of migrants is partly encouraged by the relative economic prosperity and political stability.

For time immemorial, individuals, families, tribes, and nations have been on the move where social, economic, political, and ecological factors, environmental challenges, racism, xenophobia wars, religious discrimination have more often catalyzed in the displacement of people internally. While still, others have been lured to new venues across continents. Today, migration is a critical international issue and a necessary option for millions of people, and is also currently one of the world's most debated topics whether from a political, economic, social or cultural point of view. Although the international movement of people has occurred throughout history,

“international migration in contemporary era is increasingly being attributed to globalization and the movement of capital across the globe” (Babacan & Singh, 2010).

Global migration is ever growing and this phenomenon creates sharp divisions between pro-migrants and the contributions they make in their new societies and the others who oppose migration on xenophobic grounds. In contemporary times, many view immigrants in Europe in relation to asylum seeking especially immigrants from the Middle-East and Africa. Socialist and non-aligned nations argue that historical and external factors were to blame: that is, colonialism and inequalities in trade were the primary causes of poverty and instability and, therefore, of migration. But this study goes beyond just refugees, asylum seekers as Babacan & Singh (2010; 15) note that “today, the stereotypical image of the stranger as asylum-seeker, migrant or refugee through the media and other networks often precedes the arrival of migrants.”

Babacan & Singh (2010) argue that there are complex patterns of migration and it is no longer only the poor who migrate. Migration is no longer from the less developed countries to more industrialized ones; the patterns of immigrant movement are complex and multidirectional. This I think is partly caused by disparities in demographic, social and economic conditions that generate enormous pressure internationally in relation to work, land and other resources.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is at the fore-front of the global refugee regime with the glaring goal and responsibility for refugees. Babacan & Singh (2010; 9) go further to buttress this assertion with the fact that “the international movements of people do not occur in a vacuum but are organized through infrastructures and institutions of transport, communication and regulation.” This therefore makes the refugee regime one of the most institutionalized with the greatest degree of multilateral collaboration and coordination as states committed through 1951 Convention on the status of refugees to provide a safe haven to refugees and to have their asylum policies monitored by UNHCR. Elaborate national and international systems of containment and classification based on national origin have been developed over the past quarter-century with regard to migrants, but with the exception of the refugee migrants, there is no formal or comprehensive multilateral regime regulating how states can and should

respond to the movement of people across national borders and protecting their safety and human dignity.

But a critique about globalization and its supposed enhancement of greater mobility in terms of personnel is that immigration check mechanisms at borders are instituted to technically sieve immigrants from Third World countries, restricting migration of unskilled people while selecting from a basket of highly skilled or wealthy immigrants who are suitable for resettlement (Cheran, 2001, as cited by Babaca & Briskman, 2009). The critique here is that it is unfair that the wealthy and the educated are allowed through globalization tendencies to circulate around the world more or less freely, while the economically underprivileged are not – causing in effect, a form of “global apartheid.” In other words, if it is suitable for people to move from Finland to Canada in search of more favorable jobs, why then should it look so terrible for individuals to move from Yemen or Syria to the U.S.? Freedom of movement therefore should be seen, considered and treated as a basic human right as anyone who is denied it can confirm the frustration.

To have in-depth knowledge of the nature of migration and migration problems, it will be interesting and absolutely important to understand the North – South relationship. Arnold (2012) stipulates that “the steady growth of migration flows, both legal and illegal, from poor to rich countries – with the EU and the USA as the prime target destinations – had, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, developed into a major aspect of rich - poor or North-South relations.” Many scholars will argue that the migrant crisis in contemporary times is the result of an ever-widening economic disparity and not nearly so ideologically based. In general, this ‘flight’ tends more to be ‘en masse’ rather than individual or discrete groups of individuals and the regime of particularized persecution (extreme nationalism) is not designed to address and cannot effectively and efficiently address this kind of flight. Moreover, owing to climate related resource, conflicts and the widening divisions between the North and the South, mass flight is going to be a growing part of the international landscape for the foreseeable future. This could be flight from generalized violence, natural disasters or mass ethnic flight like the Syrian Kurds.

But from a more critical point of view, global migration is no longer just a divide between the North and the South or a one- way traffic. We should rather view an increasing number of

countries and groups that are involved in mass population flows. Migration generally occurs voluntarily and forced depending on a variety of scales: intercontinental (between continents), intracontinental (between countries on a given continent), and inter-regional (within countries in a region e.g. EU, CEMAC). The governance of both forced and voluntary migration is therefore the challenge for policy makers.

Another point about migration from a social perspective is in relation to the demography of the European population. According to Eurostat (2016), consistently low birth rates and higher life expectancy are transforming the shape of the EU-28's age pyramid; probably the most important change will be the marked transition towards a much older population structure, a development which is already apparent in several EU member states. As a result, the proportion of people of working age in the EU-28 is shrinking while the relative number of those retired is expanding and this will in turn, lead to an increased burden on those of working age to provide for the social expenditure required by the ageing population for a range of related issues. Arnold (2012) argues that "western countries must therefore face the vital question of whether replacement migration provides a solution to population decline and population ageing." That is, whether migration should be viewed as needed both to balance the declines in the size of the populations of working age.

I reflect the above literature with Everett Lee's comprehensive theory of migration which he postulated in 1966. His theory proposes the formulation of chain factors which in turn lead to the mobility of people in any given area.

These factors include:

- The place of origin
- The destination area
- Intervening obstacles
- Personal factors

The crux of this theory is the point that each place of human habitation has a bunch of positive and negative factors. In retrospect of Lee's theory, the negative factors are those that beget the repulsion of people to other areas (out-bound), whereas the positive factors are those conditions

that act to hold people within it (Lee, 1966, 49). Beside these factors, there are others which remain somehow neutral, and to which people are to a greater extent, indifferent. While some of these factors tend to affect a larger population in the area, others tend to have different effects. Migration therefore in any given area is the exact result of the interplay between these distinct factors.

This theory further suggests that migrants have an almost perfect appraisal of the factors in their areas of origin as a result of their long stay. Nonetheless, the appraisal is not in many cases true for that of the destination area. There is usually but not necessarily some facet of unawareness or uncertainty in connection to the reception of migrants in the new place (Lee, 1966; 50). One major differentiation between the destination area and place of origin of migrants is related to the life pattern of an individual. A long connection of an individual with a particular place may result in an under-evaluation of the positive factors while over-evaluating in the negative factors in the place of origin. Similarly, the perceived difficulties in the place of origin may prompt an inaccurate evaluation of the negative and positive factors in the destination area. The incentive to move is not only dependent upon the strategic balance of the positive and negative factors both at the places of origin and destination. The decision to move must be balanced enough to overcome other intervening obstacles.

I find this theory very appealing especially to the current mass migration problem because the intervening obstacle of distance separating the places of origin and destination – which is commonly over-emphasized in other theories of migration, is given secondary significance. According to Lee, distance though omnipresent, is by no means the most crucial factor (Lee, 1966; 51). Moreover, the effects of these intervening obstacles vary from migrant to migrant.

Lee points out that the decision to migrate is as a result of the interplay of all the above-mentioned factors. However, the decision to migrate is usually not wholly rational. Worth noting is also the fact that not all persons who migrate do so on their own free will. Sometimes, women and children move with the larger family where their decisions are not necessarily taken into consideration.

Lee further advances a set of hypothesis regarding the volume of migration and the characteristics of migrants.

The volume of migrants in a place varies with the degree of diversity of the area in the territory.

The volume of migration fluctuates with the diversity of the inhabitants of the territory.

The volume of migration lessens with a rise in the intervening obstacles.

The volume of migration varies with the dynamics in the economy.

Without severe checks, both rate and volume of migration will increase over time.

The volume of migration fluctuates with the state of progress in the country.

3.2 Nationalism

Europe has experienced a lot of nationalist tendencies since the 19th century that metamorphosed its countries - Germany, Italy and Romania were formed by uniting different regional states that shared a common national identity. Similarly, other countries like Poland, Bulgaria and Greece were form by popular uprisings against the Ottoman Empire and Russia (Baradat, 2009). Nationalism therefore can be seen as an individual's devotion to the interest of his country over those of other nations. Nationalism is basically having the common sense of belonging to a nation, and engaging in activities related to the development of that nation and maintaining the values as well.

In the 1900s, an even more radical form of National Socialism arose in Europe - Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy. This in part was triggered by political as well as economic factors. But in contemporary times, I will like to examine what impact the current migration "crisis" has on the reawakening of nationalist tendencies in Europe. It is worth noting that many far-right political parties are gaining strength in Europe and spreading a sense of populist resentment or some form of intolerance to immigration and immigrants.

The point advanced above can be buttressed further as Guy (2012) brings out the great question of the day which is that “migration raises a variety of international, political and social issues. First are the compulsions to move and the actual movement of people, whether as economic migrants, refugees or asylum seekers. Next are the reactions of the new host countries: racism, xenophobia, new laws, inter-state quarrels, the construction of border walls, the emergence of inward-looking patriotism [nationalism] that is displayed, for example, by the idea of creating a Fortress Europe.

Babacan & Singh (2010) assert that nationalism as a political doctrine is the conviction that people are divided into diverse geopolitical positions (nations) and as such have the right to self-determination, either as self-governing entities within a nation state or as nation states of their own. As a cultural idea, nationalism is belief that while people may have many identities, it is the nation that provides the primary form of belonging.

Anderson (1991; 11) traces the cultural roots of nationalism to the dusk of religious modes of thought in the eighteenth century Western Europe that marked the dawn of the age of nationalism. Nationalism as a moral ideal is the ethic of heroic sacrifice, justifying the use of violence in defense of the nation against both internal and external enemies (Ignatieff, 1994; 13). Distinctive of nationalism is the belief that the nation is the only goal worthy of pursuit – an assertion that often leads to the belief that the nation demands unquestioned and uncompromising loyalty (Grosby, 2005; 5).

The nation according to Anderson (1991; 6) is:

An imagined political community - and imagine as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.

So therefore, nationalism appeals to blood loyalty, patriotism and sacrifice. It is developed around ideologies colored with sentimentality. However, when the sentimentality is stripped, what nationalism appeals to is the sense of belonging (Babacan & Singh, 2010; 11). They further argue that feelings of belonging to the nation can occur only if we can overcome fear politics and

stop being the 'worrying nation.' Nationalism in this sense is somewhat stereotype as this makes us inward looking, focusing on self and lacking in compassion for others. But Gellner (1964; 169) argues that nationalism is not necessarily the renaissance of nations to self-consciousness: it rather creates nations where they do not actually exist.

Many erroneously use the terms 'nationalism' and 'nation' interchangeably or as synonyms for one another. It may be well true that nationalism is about a set of beliefs about the nation but "for any nation there will be different and competing beliefs about it that often manifest themselves as political differences" (Grosby, 2005; 5). Some citizens may view their nation as standing for individual liberty (liberal nationalism), whereas others may well be willing to forgo that liberty for national security. In another instance, some may welcome immigrants, and support policies that facilitate their integration; while others may be hostile to immigration as a whole. A good example of this is the contemporary case in the USA. Nairn (1997) suggests that "all nationalism is both healthy and morbid. Both progress and regress is inscribed in its genetic code from the start".

My perception about contemporary European nationalism – whether we look at it from an ethnic, civic cultural or political perspective, is that it manifests like a counter-movement to the ever-growing globalization tendencies though it is usually but not necessarily race- or ethno-centric in nature. Balibar & Wallerstein (1991) further support this assertion with the point that "nationalism is often racialized; it does often draw its strength from constructions of the nation and others in which difference is essentialised and polarized through the imputation of permanent biological and/or cultural differences." But worth noting is the fact that nationalism is not only limited to the advanced countries of Europe and America. Many countries of the developing world are increasingly becoming very nationalistic too, for example, Algeria and South Africa with its recurrent xenophobic attacks on migrants in 2015 and 2017.

The great question that I associate with extreme nationalism is; to what extent sovereign nations can efficiently tighten control of their borders since it is argued that globalization undermines states' sovereignty as independent policy making capacity are being increasingly influenced by multinational corporations, trading blocs or regional and international organizations?

3.3 Globalization

Globalization has slowly but steadily gained steam on the global sphere. Globalization is a broad concept that basically explains the interconnectedness of the world. It primarily refers to activities that are by nature economic but also political, social and to a greater extent, cultural. Inevitably, globalization leads to increased migration flows not only of goods and services but of individuals as well. Travelling becomes easier and cheaper and because of global variations in demographics, the demand for labor varies between different regions or countries and hence the need to move. “Globalization is the global enmeshment of money, people, ideas, images, values and technologies which flow in a much swifter manner across the world” (Hurrell & Woods, 1995).

Mann (1997) supports this argument by postulating that:

Capitalism, now become global, transnational, post-industrial, ‘informational’, consumerist, neoliberal and ‘restructured’, is undermining the nation-state – its macroeconomic planning, its collective welfare state, and its citizens’ sense of collective identity, its general caging of social life.

I am particularly trying to see migration in the context of globalization because of the global spread of capitalism. It is somehow difficult for large multinational corporations to push for increased movement of capital, businesses, trade, investments, finances but not people who are to a greater extent, part of the same process. It is worth noting that migration patterns in contemporary times are to a greater extent, globalized rather than just regional. But worth noting is the fact that the development of globalization does not, perhaps paradoxically, appear to have halted nationalism in its tracks.

The concept of globalization would therefore be very important to review in this study because globalization in itself is a very important contributing factor to the high wave of migration in contemporary times. Marfleet (1998; 73) argues that “the key global factor precipitating the refugee crisis is the internationalization of the state in the context of the trans-nationalization of

the political economy”. This argument is further supported by Babacan & Singh (2010) who see migration as important in the new era of globalization since it is a powerful force to create change through its economic, social, political and cultural impacts on both receiving and sending countries.

3.4 Social Identity theory

The social identity theory was largely developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in 1979 and is widely used today in identitarian studies. In fact, Anderson (1991; 3) presents the realities of nationalism when he asserts that “the end of the era of nationalism, so long prophesied, is not remotely in sight. Indeed, nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time”. But what therefore is this social identity theory, this that scholars keep craving for?

In simple words, social identity theory is the apprehension / perception / supposition / conceptualization recognizing that the way we perceive ourselves and others on both our unique characteristics and our membership in various groups. The concept as a whole is about the comparative understanding of personal identity to social identity and worth noting is the fact that it is complex and always changing with time and space. According to Islam (2014), the social identity theory begins with the premise that individuals define their own identities with regard to social groups and that such identifications work to protect and bolster self-identity. Personal identity is basically about an individual’s characteristics such as appearance, values, personality. Social identity is the larger group which individuals belong to such as the nation.

Stets et al. (2000; 226) bring up this argument as earlier advanced by Turner et al. (1987) that, much of social identity theory deals with intergroup relations – that is, how people come to see themselves as members of one group/category (the in-group) in comparison with another (the out-group), and the consequences of this categorization. He further argues that group categorization divides people into two groups based on arbitrary criteria and showed that even this ‘minimal’ group basis led people to form psychological groups, exaggerating the positive qualities of one’s own group while exaggerating the negative qualities of the out-group.

Stets et al. (2000; 225) argue that the direct result of such social comparison is the enhancement of oneself over the other. Specifically, one's self-esteem is enhanced biasedly by positively evaluating the in-group while judging the out-group negatively.

Trepte (2006; 257) briefly analyses the four underlying basics of social identification as outlined by Tajfel (1979) which are social categorization, social comparison, social identity and self-esteem. Social categorization is the grouping of people to simplify our understanding of the world and to structure social interaction.

To understand an individual's place in society, social categorizations are evaluated in comparison (social comparison) with other groups. Social identity is that part of an individual's self-concept, which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance, attached to that membership. Self-esteem is an individual's motivation to preserve a positive social identity and look towards self-enhancement. The temptation here is that the category differences are sometimes exaggerated to favor one's own group (in-group) while hyperbolizing the negative qualities of the out-group. One could be tempted to ask the question advanced by Taylor (1991; 3) that:

can citizens with diverse identities be represented as equals if public institutions do not recognize our particular identities, but only our more universally shared interest in civil and political liberties, income, health care, and education?

To Islam (2014), the question of social identification opens up a lot of analysis into which groups people identify with, when they identify with one group versus another, and how consistent and enduring are such identifications. He further asserts that several laboratory and field studies have empirically confirmed that when groups pose a threat to one another, the effects of identification increase.

This theory is much appalling to this study because the social identity theory is a catapult of 'self-enhancement as a motivational driver for identification'. That is, it facilitates to identify oneself in terms of their individual characteristics and that of their larger group members and

comparing it with other identities supposedly but not usually to prevent bias, stereotyping, stigmatizing and discriminating others. But from a critical point of view, social identity theory presents a glaring insight concerning the social identity bases of the aforementioned discrimination, prejudice, and inter-group conflict, by pointing out the phenomena resulting from group-based categorization and self-proclamation of superiority motives.

Nevertheless, it's very functional in contextual factors that affect the salience/superfluity and strategic expression of identity. It also provides a clear understanding or explanation of the sometimes biased and hyperbolized judgment or apprehension of the difference between social/cultural groups. Islam (2014) stipulates that the social identity theory widens research regarding the structure of the social identities, the motivations behind identification, the fluidity between different social identities, and identity's effects on individuals, groups, organizations, and wider social collectives.

3.4.1 Cultural identity

Contemporary discussions on culture have become heavily charged with questions of identity. The question of cultural identity therefore rests at the core of contemporary debates in both cultural studies and social theory. This could partly be much debated because most liberal democracies cannot regard citizenship as a comprehensive universal identity because (1) people are unique, self-creating, and creative individuals; and (2) people are also 'culture-bearing,' and the cultures they bear differ depending on their past and present identifications, Taylor (1991; 6). Cultural identity could therefore refer to ethnic, familial and cultural aspects of an individual's identity in relation to how others discern or perceive this individual. That is, those circumstances that are salient to an individual's identity 'both as perceived by the individual and how others perceive the person's identity.'

Hofstede (2001, 10) states that culture is the conscious/unconscious conditioning of the mind to distinguish members of one group or category of people from other at a collective level. He further argues that the term culture is generally used to refer to tribes or ethnic groups (in anthropology), or nations (in sociology and political science), and for organizations (in sociology

and management). But given the implicit nature of culture, cultural identity assessment cannot be based on ethnicity alone, or cultural characteristics of a specific group. Rather, the main interest shifts to understanding the correlation of an individual's various identities, and the extent of the difficulty the individual encounters in relation to what core values or worldview, and identities are affected (Conwill, 2015).

Cross' (1978) model expands our understanding to include the points that: (a) identity is influenced by an individual's experience in any social community - whether positive or negative. For marginalized individuals especially, identity can get catalyzed, or compromised; (b) Identity evolution could still register higher levels of functioning irrespective of challenging life experiences; and lastly, (c) the negative sociopolitical history of a nation in terms of segregation, race and history of slavery, exclusion, can negatively influence identity awareness with trauma and stress related to race over several generations.

Bi-cultural identity

Like many social science concepts, biculturalism has many diverse definitions, ranging from general (i.e. based on demographic features) to psychologically specific conceptualizations (e.g. cultural identifications or orientations). Biculturalism may apply to anyone – whether migrants, sojourners (e.g. international students, expatriates), indigenous people, multi-ethnic individuals, ethnic minorities, those in interethnic relationships, etc. (Berry, 2003). According to Benet-Martinez & Haritatos (2005), “bicultural individuals are those who have been exposed to and have internalized two cultures.” For example, 12% of the US population is foreign born, 33% nonwhite, and 19% speak a language other than English at home (US Census Bureau, 2005).

Nguyen & Benet-Martinez (2013) assert that “biculturalism and acculturation are tightly intertwined, with biculturalism being one of four ways to acculturate.” According to a widely accepted framework proposed by Berry (1990), acculturating immigrants have to deal with two central issues: (1) the extent to which the social structure permits them to retain their culture of origin, now the non-majority culture; and (2) the extent to which individuals are willing to identify with the mainstream culture. This assertion supports the argument that acculturation is

not a lone linear process – involving an individual’s transformation from unacculturated to assimilated, but a multicomplex process that transcends an individual’s ethnic and cultural orientation to the larger society (Phinney, 1996; 922).

Let’s examine this example of variations in bicultural identity:

Being bicultural makes me feel special and confused. Special because it adds to my identity: I enjoy my Indian culture, I feel that it is rich in tradition, morality, and beauty; Confused because I have been in many situations where I feel both cultures aren’t an option. My cultures have very different views on things like dating and marriage. I feel like you have to choose one or the other.

19-year-old second-generation Indian American
(Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005)

3.4.2 Cosmopolitan identity

As globalization is growing in terms of meaning and becoming more and more widespread, so are more and more people around the world feeling that political boundaries have no particular significance. Globalization practices have the capacity to transform cultural and/or national identities, and social values to the extent that individuals don’t feel particularly attached just to a particular community, but to the larger global community. Waldron (2000; 1) asserts that cosmopolitanism as a concept indicates a way of belonging in the world by reconstructing an individual’s identity that is different from, and arguably opposed to, the idea of strict attachment to a particular culture. A fundamental aspect of cosmopolitanism is the fact that all humans are of equal worth. Spisak (2009; 86) argues that identity and culture are complementary concepts in the cosmopolitan discourse and such fluidity gives room for power transformation in the relationship between the self and other and has the potential to affect change within the broader scope of society.

Defining one’s self, as well as a group or culture by pre-existing standards, brings up the stereotype idea that one’s identity is static and, by extension, that the identity of the group or groups with which one associates self-identity are static as well. This can be problematic for

many reasons, two of which are: (1) humans identify with or belong to more than one categorical group; (2) defining people and groups with fixed identities or characteristics encourages an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mentality (Spisak, 2009; 87). In other words, Harris (2004; 11) brings up the argument that “this creates some dichotomy between people and labels others as enemies and excludes and creates an identity conflict where people hate others who belong to groups different from theirs, and these others are perceived as the enemy.”

It is worth noting that individuals with bi-cultural backgrounds have the potentials to reshape these pre-existing identities to suit their own uniqueness and thereby redefining what culture he/she belongs to. Hill (2000, 6) reminds us that “we remake the world by individually remaking the images of our own selves.” Again, Muthu’s (2003) review of Kant’s writing that we “live in social and cultural worlds of our making and remaking” gives us a clearer picture of this ‘remaking’ as essential to the evolution of a cosmopolitan perspective and is the motivation behind the possibility of creating fluid cultural identities (Spisak, 2009; 88). The individual breaks free of this imagined political community as stipulated by Anderson (1991; 6) where members of even the smallest nation will not know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.

3.5 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is not a relatively new term, and denotes the representation of multiple cultures within a socio-political setting. In this study, we examine the formation or increased complexity of contemporary multicultural states which is to a greater extent triggered by an ever-increasing migration practice. For example, 12% of the US population is foreign born, 33% nonwhite, and 19% speak a language other than English at home (US Census Bureau, 2005). According to Babacan & Singh (2010), “the ideology behind nationalism destroys diversity and establishes structural conditions for power inequalities in society”. If we understand the ethnic model of the nation as Smith (1991; 11) defines it to be “first and foremost a community of common descent”, does this give room for intolerance for cultural diversity?

Ferguson (1994) further argues that nationalism establishes a contradictory set of forces in which the nation state shapes nationalism on the one hand and becomes the site for conflict based on different interest groups on the other hand. This argument is further reshaped by Spencer & Wollman (1998) who argue that successful nations have been constructed on basis of a pre-existing ethnic core, in whose absence nationalism can mobilize effectively. Canada and the US are a good example of countries that have exploited their cultural diversity to build a happy nation of unity in diversity. There therefore is an urgent need to create a new mindset that refutes the idea that cultural diversity brings along social mistrust (Babacan & Singh, 2010).

3.6 Minorities

Eriksen (2002; 121) considers minorities to be a group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population in a society, which is politically non-dominant and which is being reproduced as an ethnic category”. Minorities are usually considered from the cultural, lingual, social, and sexual perspectives. It is also sometimes used to describe groups of people with physical or mental disabilities. UNESCO (2012) defines minorities as a numerically inferior group in relation to the mainstream population that is disadvantaged either on ethnic, national, religious, linguistic or cultural grounds and who may wish to preserve and develop their identity. This therefore goes contrary to popular thinking that minorities applies to multicultural societies. Even in relatively culturally homogenous societies, there could exist minorities based on sexuality and disability.

Key to understanding the concept of minorities is to ask the questions as advanced by Taylor & Gutmann (1994; 3) that: “what does it mean for citizens with different cultural identities, often based on ethnicity, race, gender, or religion, to recognize ourselves as equals in the way we are treated in politics?”

These concepts put together are very important to reviewing our understanding of migration in relation to the spread of nationalism in contemporary times. They are to great extent inter-related to each other. Globalization has greatly influenced the possibility of global mass migration and

this has led some researchers to associate nationalism – especially extreme nationalism to anti-globalization. These resettled migrants whether integrated or not, produce a socially multicultural/cultural diverse society and the unquestionable product of such is the issue of minorities especially from a racial, religious, or ethnic perspective. It is no doubt that migrants create a new identity especially through procreation. So identity studies become an integral part to understanding the concept of nationalism.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Description of data

Marine Le Pen is a charismatic and eloquent speaker. She has spoken in many occasions and in different locations over the years. As a result of her enormous amount of speeches, it therefore becomes absolutely necessary to draw from the many speeches, a sample that may enable me analyze her nationalistic rhetoric. To collect the sample, I take the following into consideration: First, consistency in the nationalist theme of the speeches; secondly, the acknowledgment that immigration is a socio-economic problem in France. I also take into consideration that Marine Le Pen has spoken on different topics, in different places and in different periods of France's challenging times. Therefore, the context of her discourse is of primary concern to me. I also considered the necessity of organizing her speeches in a topical and chronological order.

I also reflect on the number of speeches to include in my sample so that it reflects the different periods within France's electoral history in her time as FN leader, and also represents the consistency in her rhetoric, and in such manner that would make my work doable at the end. It is also worth mentioning that all five sample speeches are extracted from the National Front's official website (www.frontnational.com) and translated to English by me.

So therefore, I base my analysis on data that tracks the surge in asylum applications in France between 2008 and 2016 and the emergence of the National Front in French elections from 1995 to 2017. These dates are particularly selected because they allow me isolate trends that marked a turning point in the mass influx of refugees into Europe on one hand, and the transition of party leadership and change of party rhetoric from Jean-Marie Le Pen to Marine Le Pen, and from anti-Semitism to anti-immigration and anti-globalization respectively on the other hand. In essence, this provides an empirical foundation that allows me to argue and situate the current surge of nationalism in France as expressed in democratic French elections.

Attached in the appendices are five sample speeches by Marine Le pen. The first is an extract of Marine's speech at the Tours Congress on January 15 & 16, 2011. The second is her speech of the 2013 summer conference in Marseilles. The third is Marine Le Pen's speech in Paris (December 10, 2015). The fourth is a sample speech by Marine Le Pen in Lyon, France on the 5th February 2017. The fourth extract is Marine's discourse at the presidential session on the 5th of February, 2017. The fifth extract is her keynote address to the French people after qualifying for the second round in the 2017 French presidential elections in April 23rd, 2017.

4.2 Rhetorical analysis

In civilized modern political democracies, politicians and the like have mastered an irresistibly persuasive way to win over the electorate to their political camp without using the old-fashioned tyrannical method which is/was marred by the philosophical fallacy of 'argumentum ad baculum'. Garsten (2009; 2) goes further to buttress this assertion as he stipulates that "in modern democracies, we are ruled more often by speech rather than by force, and a democratic politician is one who knows how to use speech as a means of influence and a technique of rule." In this sense therefore, persuasion modifies the form of democratic citizenship, by enabling citizens to both rule and be ruled.

According to Bauer & Gaskell (2000; 210),

Rhetoric is directed at a discrete audience which is persuaded by the arguments given and gives some sign to that effect (classically, a change in behavior or opinion). Rhetoric, in this somewhat impoverished view, then, recovers the intentions of the speaker or author, discovers the system of rules that organize the discourse, and evaluates the effectiveness of the intended persuasion by the effect on the audience. While an analysis can be rendered in this way, there are many dangers. Most importantly, this treats the analysis of discourse as merely the reverse of the construction of discourse, and assumes that the process of construction is recoverable and the contexts of reception are transparent.

But what really is rhetoric/persuasion, this that scholars keep craving for?

The term ‘rhetoric’ has a great variety of meanings depending from which perspective we view it. Garsten (2009) postulates that:

Some scholars use it to refer to the characteristics of a particular community’s discourse, such as that of economists, while others use it to refer to particular tropes and styles of poetry or literature, while others still, the term encompasses all human communication.

According to a publication of San Diego State University, rhetoric as a social science term refers to “the study and uses of written, spoken and visual language. It investigates how language is used to organize and maintain social groups, construct meanings and identities, coordinate behavior, mediate power, produce change, and create knowledge.” It may be more practical to explain in a more precise manner the way in which the term will be used in this essay. Permit me borrow this definition by Bauer & Gaskell (2000; 207) since we share similar views on what rhetoric is. They define rhetoric as: “(1) the act of persuasion or (2) the analysis of acts of persuasion or (3) a worldview about the persuasive power of discourse.” I understand rhetoric as any means of communication designed to persuade an audience.

It has often been argued that rhetoricians exploit the emotions of their audience to draw them closer to their camp even by making promises that are sometimes difficult or even impossible to implement. Bauer et al. (2017; 207) argues that “in everyday talk, we contrast ‘rhetoric’ with ‘action’, and suggest that something ‘rhetorical’ is tantamount to a collection of lies and half-truths.” But that notwithstanding as Garsten (2009; 130) argues that by analogy:

a technical art of rhetoric that was focused on observing the available means of persuasion would allow one to say that an orator who did not manage to persuade a particular audience might nevertheless have practiced his craft well if he had surveyed the various possible means of persuasion and observed which means were appropriate to the particular situation at hand.

The first port of call when a researcher decides to conduct an investigation into particular tropes of meaning in a discourse by rhetorical analysis, he has to take into consideration the five canons (invention, disposition, style, memory and delivery) of rhetoric derived from Cicero and Aristotle's three (ethos, pathos and logos) underlying themes of rhetoric. In some circumstances, each canon can yet be further subdivided into categories. Though I would be analyzing Marine Le Pen's speeches under three core themes other than the above mentioned, However, I still find it reasonable enough to explain these more traditional canons as I would in some cases relate my analyses to them.

4.3 Canons of rhetoric

Invention

To conduct vigorous rhetorical analysis, one must be able to clearly differentiate between form and content. In essence, "one must clearly delineate the content of a discourse, and then look carefully at its style, organization and aesthetic elements" (Bauer & Gaskell 2000 : van Loon 2001). It is however important to note that the arguments that are made are highly shaped by the form of communication. The importance of invention in rhetorical analysis are the points that it "addresses where arguments come from or, more classically, how orators 'invent' arguments in relation to particular purposes."

Disposition

This rhetorical canon practically analyzes the organization of a particular discourse. It seeks to identify how the organization of the work is correlated to the main arguments advanced and by what logic it supports its core claims (van Loon, 2001). This organizational pyramid gives the audience a persuasive understanding that some arguments may be more important than others.

Style

Style in a rhetorical discourse should be analyzed as that composite part of the relation between content and form. The persuasiveness of most discourses is embedded in their style, which of course, is directly related to the context of the discourse.

Metaphor and analogy: analyzing metaphors in a discourse is an important part of rhetorical analysis as “they can ‘transfer over’ meaning from one concept to another as an aid to our understanding and description, as well as being a persuasive tool” (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). In this regard, metaphor creates a comparison between two concepts because a phrase is used to refer to an action or thing to which it is otherwise not applicable.

Metonymy and synecdoche: These figurative languages refer to situations where a part refers to the whole. It is worth noting that the use of language itself functions at very different and complex levels and situations. Metonymy and synecdoche enables us to “shift attributes and characteristics from thing to another. It is a close relation to metaphor ... and it also works alongside appeals to pathos” (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000).

Memory

Memory as a canon of rhetoric analyzes the connection between a rhetor and the content of their argument and whether they could deliver the same argument twice. In current theoretical circles, there is a revived interest in the cultural aspect of memory, and how particular discourses call upon cultural memories shared by authors and their audiences (Lipsitz, 1990).

Delivery

This canon examines the dissemination of a work and its content.

Worth noting about rhetoric as stipulated by Hart & Daughton (2005; 7) is the fact that:

like poetry, rhetoric creates a story almost out of nothing, using words to bring to life feelings we may have forgotten, plans we may not have considered ... rhetoric uses

common ideas, conventional language, and specific information to influence audience's feelings and behavior.

Some of the fascinating things scholars have found about the many forms of rhetoric is summarily represented in the five basic moves of rhetoric by Hart & Daughton (2005, 7) which include:

- (1) the rhetorician tries to exert change by using symbols (verbal and non-verbal) rather than non-symbolic forces;
- (2) the rhetorician must come to be regarded as a helper rather than as an exploiter;
- (3) the rhetorician must convince the audience that new choices be made;
- (4) the rhetorician must narrow the audience's options for making these choices even though
- (5) the rhetorician may become subtle by not specifying the details of the policies advanced.

Ethos – one form of persuasive argument, also referred to as ethical appeal is the means of convincing an audience based on the character or credibility of the author. A rhetorician may use ethos as a persuasive mode to show his audience that he is most credible and worth listening to. This can be done by using proper language (using correct grammar and syntax) that is most appropriate for the audience, and making one sound unbiased and fair. However, while who the author does not automatically make an argument more or less valid, it nonetheless plays some subtle form of persuasion.

Pathos – yet another form of persuasive argument, also referred to as emotional appeal is basically the persuasion of an audience by appealing to their emotions. Pathos in my opinion is most commonly used by today's contemporary politicians to invoke some kind of sympathy from an audience and to make them have the feeling which falls in line with the purpose of their rhetoric. Similarly, pathos can be used to invoke some kind of anger or hatred probably in order to prompt action. A good example is the anti-immigration and anti-globalization rhetoric of Marine Le Pen which from my analysis prompts an action of the supposed 'Frexit'. More so, pathos could be used by rhetoricians to draw some form of sympathy for a particular course by using emotional tone and meaningful language.

Logos or logic is to persuade an audience by the use of logic or reason. To convince an audience with the practice of logic will be to cite facts and statistics, historical and literal analogies, and citing certain authorities on a given subject. It is usually practiced by using advanced theoretical language. However, to build a strong rhetorical argument will be to master an effective and efficient blend of the three basic rhetorical appeals.

4.4 Main Arguments

Conducting rhetorical analysis has its dangers if not properly analyzed. In this case therefore, I bring out the main arguments that I take note in order not to be biased in my analysis.

For rhetoric

Garsten (2009, 115) asserts that since the modern suspicion of persuasive rhetoric is rooted in a crisis of confidence about the human capacity to use judgment in politics, any rehabilitation of rhetoric will have to address that crisis by offering a sympathetic account of judgement. The second feature of Aristotle's approach to rhetorical deliberation that should interest theorists today is its reliance on two ideas that Garsten (2009; 119) draws out and stylizes as *situated judgment* and *deliberative partiality*. He asserts that:

We tend to realize that individuals judge better in deliberative settings especially when they accentuate themselves in a particular setting where they share their own experiences and feelings rather than judge matters that do not directly touch their interest.

Kane & Patapan (2010, 372) assert that "because public discussions and debates are essential in a democracy, and because leaders are obliged to rule the sovereign people by means of constant persuasion, rhetoric is absolutely central." Though this is similar, it is not necessarily identical as

Garsten (2005; 117) argues that “we must show, contra Hobbes, that political rhetoric or the art of persuasion can be turned into something other than a tool for manipulation and demagoguery.”

Going further, Dryzek (2010) noted that rhetoric is also core to grass-roots political action it facilitates the expression of representation claims on diverse subjects and audiences while keeping in mind that democracy requires a consultative system with diverse components whose linkage often needs rhetoric. It is however tempting to emphasize one side of this tension at the expense of the other.

Against rhetoric

Garsten (2009; 122) argues that “because rhetoricians are guided only by the pleasure of their audience, they are not equipped to give a reasoned account of their practice.” We get to realize here that emotion or pathos is very relevant to rhetoric, in fact as an integral to and partly constitutive of judgement and deliberation. Garsten (2009; 126) briefly borrows this assertion from Aristotle that in the Ethics, Aristotle described deliberation as a process through which we could discover how to achieve a set goal:

We deliberate not about ends, but about what promotes ends; a doctor, e.g., does not deliberate about whether he will cure, or an orator about whether he will persuade, or a politician about whether he will produce good order, or any other about the end.

Furthermore, this attitude toward analysis commits the ‘intentionalist’ fallacy as advanced by Bauer & Gaskell (2000; 210) that:

If we pursue rhetorical analysis as the reconstruction of the intention of authors and speakers and the intention ‘behind’ the behavioral or attitude changes of audiences, we proceed as if ‘intentions’ of authors can be divined by their texts or oral performances.

This is a danger of many types of analysis, but one that has especially plagued rhetorical analysis.

Some researchers associate the art of rhetoric with metaphor. Some scholars associate metaphor with the art of rhetoric and insist that they should be “utterly excluded from demonstration, counsel, and rigorous search of truth.” Garsten (2005; 27) further argues that Hobbes did not use metaphors and other rhetorical tropes as a way to close off deliberation so that his advice would not be merely another opinion but the founding and final one.

There is something intriguing here that is absent in the former arguments. The main critique with Garsten’s arguments about the art of rhetoric is how and whether there is a clear-cut distinction between rhetoric and manipulation? Aristotle (2000) gives a clear explanation to this dilemma by his well-known assertion that the function of rhetoric is “not to persuade, but to discover the available means of persuasion in case.” It is this, more neutral conception of rhetoric that currently predominates in contemporary politics. It is worth noting that in contemporary period, political oratory requires formal gestures and stylistic language as orators now address very large crowds.

5. ANALYSIS

The ‘unprecedented’ success of Donald J. Trump to the helm of American politics has presented some clear parallels with conservative, populist, neo-fascists movements in Europe. Donald Trump had earlier campaigned on a broad platform of anti-immigration, anti-Islam, and anti-establishment, and electoral victory seemed to show proof of growing acceptance of these ideologies among the middle class. Most of these conservative right-wing parties have gained momentum beginning from the rise of Donald Trump to the success of ‘Brexit’. They [nationalists] consider these successes as symbolic harbinger for a broader populist metamorphosis, not just in the USA or Europe, but the world at large. This is somehow true as more and more right-wing parties are gaining prominence in governance (e.g. Austria, Poland) and altering traditional center and left-wing political methods of governance.

There is little else as tempting as painting a picture of the National Front while keeping a perfect balance between its radical and sometimes racist ideology - which its leaders deny, and its nationalist agenda. Well, the FN has made very significant though unprecedented successes in recent political elections. What many social science researchers crave to know is how these successes have been possible especially since Marine Le Pen ascended the helm of the FN’s mantle of power. Some contemporary studies suggest the surge of the FN’s popularity to the dynamics in the electorate (Mayer, 2013). Others capitalize it on the economic crisis (e.g. Hewlett, 2012). While still, other researchers whom I share the same school of thought with associate this resurgence with unprecedented social conditions like immigration (e.g. Della Posta, 2013).

However, I argue in my analysis that the FN has in recent times made impressive political gains in elections, opinion polls, membership numbers and this I argue, stems at least, from the strategically rebranding or repositioning of the party. After a careful analysis of the FN’s party documents and other supporting literature, I assert the fact that Marine Le Pen since gaining

office in 2011, has repositioned the FN in three dimensions: (1) she has given the FN a more acceptable look, (2) she has successfully rebranded the party's core stance on immigration and (3) she has deepened the party's populist root. In essence, Marine Le Pen's program is a continuation of the FN'S traditional themes of anti-Islamization, anti-globalization, anti-immigration and Euroscepticism, but conducted within a populist framework that aligns with republican values of national sovereignty as a solution to France's current economic and socio-political problems.

But still, questions arise whether the FN has succeeded in breaking the bipartisan political system in France by making the FN a mainstream party and a strong contender for government. As earlier mentioned, the *Front National* has had as core agenda - the concern of thwarting immigration [clandestine] into the country which it considers as the chief cause of France's social problems. While most conservative Leftist and Centrist French politicians regard the *Front National* as a 'fringe' movement (party) with an obscured destiny. Marine Le Pen has shouldered the burden [as leader] of sanitizing or purifying the image of the party by rebranding and giving the party a subtler rhetoric that could be welcomed by the French. This is being achieved by the strategy known as *dédiabolisation*.

In my analysis of rhetoric, a thousand bunches of thoughts come to my mind. I am much tempted to analyze this work using the 'tripartite' (ethos, pathos, and logos). Then I think it's weird and redundant because that is what every other researcher does, and so I try to step out of the box. I also try to keep in mind what Hart & Daughton (2005) consider to be the comprising premises in analyzing rhetoric: (1) rhetoric is a special art of human expression, (2) it takes a special analysis to understand it; (3) by understanding it, it enables one to have a special perspective on the world itself. I would rather analyze the rhetoric of Marine le Pen in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic themes while keeping in mind the traditional canons of rhetoric and sometimes making direct reference to them.

5.1 Economic analysis

In my economic analysis, I seek to answer questions as to how the immigration crisis and the rising numbers of immigrants is portrayed in Marine Le Pen's speeches in relation to its economic impact on the French society. I will analyze a few of Le Pen's speeches within a six-year timeframe and with the help of extracts; I will analyze how immigration has so far influenced her economic rhetoric. In my analysis of Marine Le Pen's rhetoric as shown in her speeches, I also point out changes (if any) in rhetoric in her different speeches from different years together.

I begin my analysis of Marine Le Pen's economic rhetoric from her very first public address as president of the FN in 2011. While keeping in mind that rhetorical analysis is about probing particular messages designed to influence human thought, actions and probably emotions, Marine Le Pen speaks on one of the core populist theme, Euroscepticism. First, she condemns the loss of economic sovereignty to Brussels and directly correlates this to the high rates of unemployment in France. As earlier mentioned, such messages are greatly received by the middle-class who face stiff competition with cheap foreign labor. She asserts that:

Restoring national sovereignty means first of all getting out of the stifling and destructive straitjacket of Brussels in which we have been locked up in spite of ourselves and which deprives us of any margin of maneuver in whole fields of political action: money, legislation , controlling our borders, managing immigration ... Let's not deceive ourselves indeed.

At the rate things are going, our fiscal policy and our diplomacy will soon be fully submitted to Brussels.

The Europe of Brussels was built by denying or bypassing the will of the people.

Brussels Europe has everywhere imposed the destructive principles of ultra-liberalism and free trade, to the detriment of public services, employment, social equity and even our economic growth which, in twenty years, has become the weakest in the world.

This Brussels-based Europe has forced us to abolish state administrations and services in all areas of public life.

(Marine Le Pen, 2011)

Marine Le Pen equally advocates for economic protectionism in the face of ‘wild’ globalization. Goodliffe (2015) explains that the leadership of the FN exploited growing anti-EU discontent within the French community and further argues that the economic quagmire at the time provided an ideal atmosphere for the FN to bolster its Eurosceptic credentials – which inter alia see the EU project as a scheme that outsources manual labor jobs in France and undermines national sovereignty and promotes unregulated immigration from within and without Europe. These rising wave of immigrants are outsourcing manual labour jobs. With these solid arguments at just the right time, The FN presents itself as the sole party that represents the interest of the Eurosceptic electorate.

Their euro, which was to bring us happiness, has undermined our economies, destroyed our purchasing power and even forbids us to preserve French jobs; it is currently in the terminal phase under the infusion of the IMF and is maintained only at the cost of an unprecedented social regression.

Identicidal globalization has turned into economic horror, social tsunami, moral Chernobyl... In order to do this, we will commit ourselves, as soon as we come to power, to a vast package of reforms designed to eliminate privileges and set up an effective and fair tax and social policy.

We will restore dignity to our institutions and restore to the heart of community life the passion for solidarity, fairness, beauty and high values that underpin our civilization.

(Marine Le Pen, 2011)

This rhetoric is anti-globalization which she argues is part of the evil force that is undermining the sovereignty of the French nation.

Our leaders choose globalization, which they wanted to be a happy thing. It turned out to be a horrible thing. They made an ideology out of it: economic globalization, which refuses any regulation... It sets the conditions for another form of globalization: Islamist fundamentalism.

Marine Le Pen (2013)

The rhetoric asserts that it is only by rolling back from the EU and the exploits of globalization that France can forcefully reassert its values and authority which is in a slow but steady decline, in other words, “get the country back on track.” To Marine Le Pen, “what is at stake in this election [2017] ... is whether France can still be a free nation.” This can be reaffirmed in one of her many speeches where she stipulates that:

France must first regain its freedom, its freedom as a state, and its freedom as a nation. A free France is a sovereign and independent France... It is to regain our budgetary freedom: the last of the prerogatives that remained to the parliamentarians, that they themselves transferred to the European Commission, to make mine today to fight between them on a budget of which they did not more mastery.

It is to regain our monetary freedom so that finally France has a currency adapted to its economy, and that it finds the possibility of financing its debt today left to predatory financial markets;

It is to find borders – at last! Economic borders to implement intelligent protectionism, as do the vast majority of the countries of the globe, migratory borders to control human flows and fight against trafficking and criminal networks All that my friends, supposes the questioning without delay of the European Union.

(Marine Le Pen, 2013).

Le Pen attacks the whole concept of the European project in terms of both integration and immigration. One would commonly have the understanding that the whole discourse of the European Union is about integration and not immigration. However, the FN has traditionally been very concerned with the virtual disappearance of national borders with the accession of the Schengen Agreement which enables the citizens of poorer countries to stream into the country either seeking for employment and equal pay, or welfare benefits. These trends according to the FN diminish national sovereignty and identity in favor of a homogenous Europe. This argument may have far-reaching implications in relation to Emmanuel Macron's recent proposal on the reassessment by the EU of posted workers.

The French state has put itself at the service of the Brussels bureaucracy, which is mishandling the fine idea of European entente and substituting for it a technocratic, totalitarian project harmful to our liberties. Sovereignty is not an old moon for nostalgic spirit, it is fundamental; it is to the nation what freedom is to the individual. Our monetary sovereignty, that is to say, our ability to defend our jobs, has been sacrificed to dogmas.

(Marine Le Pen, 2011).

5.2 Political analysis

Marine le Pen's political rhetoric is primarily based on the theme of sovereignty – both legislative and territorial. France must first regain its freedom, its freedom as a state, and its freedom as a nation. So therefore, a free France should be a sovereign and independent France. To her, it is by fully regaining the internal borders of France that the country can fully control clandestine migration. However, I will in this subchapter, analyze other political aspects of Le Pen's rhetoric that culminate in influencing her rhetoric on immigration from a political perspective. This begins from the rebranding of the party's rhetoric that fits the immigration discourse within a republican frame and that results in popular acceptability.

One of the fronts where Marine Le Pen has significantly uplifted the image of the party is by rebranding the party's rhetoric to a more modern and respectable position. Much of this new outlook is derived from the new rhetoric or the *dédiabolisation* strategy. Stockemer (2015) asserts that while Jean Marie Le Pen did not outrightly oppose the FN's label as an extreme right or radical right, Marine Le Pen rather opposes this and labels her party as a Republican party that is embedded in the values of the 5th French Republic. In fact, Marine Le Pen (2014) asserts that the FN is neither right nor extreme right, but is radically different from the mainstream parties – PS and the UMP (presently the Republicans). To emphasize this *dédiabolisation* strategy, Marine Le Pen has handled it from two fronts: First, the FN has disguised its renowned racist comments within a purely Republican discourse by highlighting the concepts of sovereignty and laïcité. Secondly, she has distanced the party's rhetoric from any reference to old school French nationalists like Alexis Carrel and Charles Maurras who were very often referenced by her father Jean Marie Le Pen (Stockemer, 2015). In fact, her efforts to rebrand the party (FN) continues seven years on as she recently proposed to change the party's name from *Front National* to *Rassemblement National* in a bid to break away from the toxic past of the FN under Jean Marie Le Pen (*The Local*, 2018).

Dear friends, it is from this moment that will date the irresistible rise of our movement towards power. From this Congress will begin an unprecedented effort to transform the National Front. Make our party a tool for building and reviving our country.

To the spectacular work of the awakeners must now, from this day, succeed that of the builders.

We must now make the National Front a tool, a tool to regain power from the hands of those who have dragged our beautiful country so far, in the state where it is today. A tool for us to take again what was taken on us.

The FN will naturally be the common home of the French, the great house of lovers of France. The National Front that I will chair will be a renewed, open and effective party.

I set myself a goal now to achieve together with you.

The FN will naturally be the common home of the French, the great house of lovers of France. The National Front that I will chair will be a renewed, open and effective party.

(Marine Le Pen, 2011)

The next extract is part of Marine Le Pen's maiden speech as president of the FN to show exceptional discontinuity in her rhetoric and the FN rhetoric in general. She initially praises Jean-Marie Le Pen's political 'rightness' but turns around four years later (2015) to dismiss him over a controversial Holocaust remark. The point here is that, Jean-Marie Le Pen has traditionally been anti-Semitic and has been praised by her daughter for raising the party to a great height [based on this same anti-Semitic rhetoric]. The question is, why the U-turn, why the change in rhetoric? Well, she's reinstated strict discipline within the party especially in relation to anti-Semitism. In fact, she dismissed her father and predecessor (Jean-Marie Le Pen) in 2015 for making comments about the Holocaust which was deemed anti-Semitic and "unacceptable". The FN now considers anti-Semitism as one of the factors demonizing the party and preventing mainstream acceptability. From this perspective, we see a change of rhetoric over time, the *dédiabolisation* strategy in action.

In his function as Honorary President, his irreplaceable experience as his serene authority and the rectitude of his thought will be for us, will be for me, a decisive support.

I was for 42 years the privileged witness of this fight.

I saw the righteousness, the nobility of soul, the perseverance, the vision and sometimes the bravery with which he assumed the direction of the National Front, all qualities that allow today, to affirm that he has unquestionably risen to the height of history... We all have a debt to him, mine is double since President and father, he has largely contributed to make me, not only the activist, but also the woman that I am.

Today I would just like to say thank you...

Today, we measure how well Jean-Marie Le Pen was right, how much the men and women who have since risen to join us have formed and still form the most lucid, selfless and brave part of our people.

(Marine Le Pen, 2011).

Moreover, Marine Le Pen's political agenda is objectively very anti-elitist. She presents herself as a true patriot for the ordinary hardworking and honest French people who do not only have their resources scrambled by unacceptable high numbers of foreigners (immigrants) but also governed by political elites who display a high proficiency in corruption (Marine Le Pen, 2017). We see this rhetorical continuity throughout her mandate as the FN president.

Save it [France] from arbitrariness, feudalism and communitarianism, illegitimate technocrats. We want to restore the nation by freeing it and restoring fundamental rights... In a nutshell, we want to put the state back in the hands of the people... Europe is not a caliphate, France is not a caliphate, it has never been, it will never be.

(Marine Le Pen, 2011)

Le Pen continues this anti-elitist rhetoric to her 2017 presidential campaign when she presents herself as the people's candidate, the candidate that represents the interest of all sincere patriots and the survival of France. She asserts that:

Time has come to free the French people, all the people, without forgetting our compatriots in the overseas departments, who have placed in me a trust that honors me. The time has come to free the French people of the arrogant elite who seek to tell you how to live your lives.

Because yes, I am the people's candidate. I call on all sincere patriots, wherever they come from, whatever their origin, whatever their background, however they voted in the first round, to join me. I call on them to leave aside all quarrels, preconceptions and grudges, for the greater good of the country.

It is vital, truly vital, at stake is: the survival of France.

I call on them to unite behind our project of recovery.

We will welcome them as brothers.

On August 8th, 1943, General De Gaulle said in Casablanca that: the grandeur of a people precedes only those of the people.

(Marine Le Pen, 2017)

The most intriguing part of Le Pen's political rhetoric in her recent political campaign discourse is her exploitation of the persuasive model of 'pathos.' She repeatedly calls on the French people and her supporters in particular to be 'patriots'. In essence, the original French version of her speeches carry these strong words such as *compatriots*, *patriotes sincere*, *citoyens*², *nation*, which bring out the nationalist spirit in her audience. She accuses the left and Center –which she considers as not being patriotic because we cannot “be a patriot in a general way.” In her opinion, the above mentioned political factions “defend the supernatural power of the EU and deny the French people the right to choose for themselves the right to control their laws, the right to control their territory, and the right to control their budget,” and do not seem to have any love (patriotism) for France as she further asserts that:

If you are here as numerous today, it is that you have understood, and the recent news has brought a brilliant demonstration, that against the right of the money and the left of the money, I am the candidate of France of the people. In all respects, this presidential election is not like the others; it brings into play a crucial debate that engages our country fundamentally. From its outcome, will depend the continuity of France as a free nation and for those who like us feel above all French, our existence as a people. After decades of error and cowardice, after false alternations of denials and letting go, *laissez-passers*, *laissez-faire*, we are at a crossroads. I say it with gravity: the choice we will have to make in this election is a choice of civilization.

(Marine Le Pen, 2017)

Le Pen's patriotism to France is to regain its sovereignty – because the people are the only legitimate sovereigns. As earlier mentioned, she accuses France's current leadership and her predecessors of selling French sovereign liberty to the European Union. This sovereignty in the banner of monetary, budgetary, territorial and legislative, which are the most fundamental for the functioning of a sovereign state. Le Pen believes that because of the views of the FN which is to some extent far-Right, the well-revered 'great democracy' (France) has prevented the party (FN) – with millions of voters from being represented in the French parliament.

But above all, the situation we are witnessing highlights the new political divide around which French political life is now structured. It separates the globalists and the patriots, between those who accompany or even organize the disappearance of our millennial nation and those who work on its renewal, between those who have resigned themselves to oblivion and those who fight, standing up without fail for the radiation of our country. It will be the big cleavage, that of the presidential elections. It is already that of regional. Therefore, I call on all voters who feel patriotic, regardless of their first-round vote, to overcome the left-right divide that no longer makes sense and to vote next Sunday for the National Front lists.

(Marine Le Pen, 2015)

According to Bauer & Gaskell (2009), whether one is choosing an oral discourse, an image or a written document, an overtly persuasive discourse such as political speeches and advertising or more covert persuasion such as a scientific article or newspaper feature, the context of discourse should be the first port of call when embarking on rhetorical analysis. My first port of call in the political analysis of Marine Le Pen's rhetoric is her stance on the outcome of the 2015 elections which she asserts will not follow the old electoral pattern as she asserts that "the old dichotomy between the left and right is over, the new battle is between patriots and globalizationists." As a common trend, rhetoricians are always pessimistic by creating fear about current situations while offering solutions, hoping to convey a message of redemption or hope and believe that communication can change the trend of human affairs. To comment on this 'battle line' drawn by Marine Le Pen, I would borrow Garsten's (2009; 1) argument that persuasive talk that marks a true democratic politician is not a superfluous talent but one central to his or her success.

During the presidential convention in Lyon on the 04th of February 2017, the National Front (FN) leader asserted that the manifesto of the party was formulated to "get the country back on track."

That's why, once elected I will announce the organization of a referendum within the first six months of my mandate on whether to stay or leave the EU. I will then engage in talks with our partners, and trust me; they have similar aspirations to sovereignty – to renegotiate the terms of our contract with this tyrannical Europeanist system which is not a project anymore but a historical parenthesis and, hopefully one day, just a bad memory. The goal will be to find within six months a compromise that allows us to recover our four sovereignties: monetary, economic, legislative and territorial.

If the European Union does not submit, then I will ask the French to vote in the referendum to resign from this nightmare and become free again. In the same spirit, because we think that France is only great when it makes its voice heard which is that in favor of independence and global balance, we will leave the integrated command of NATO; we will re-examine our diplomacy in the light of our national interests and we will give the means of our domestic and foreign policy by rebuilding our military potential...

(Maine Le Pen, 2017)

Getting back on track may rhetorically suggest plans for organizing a referendum concerning France's future membership in the European Union, just as similarly as the June 23rd, 2016, plebiscite in the UK popularly referred to as 'Brexit'. Or the re-introduction of border controls – a factor that would enable France effectively manage immigration; a return to the country's pre-euro French franc currency, strict limits on immigration and the prospect of leaving NATO. As concerns the supposed 'Frexit,' she repeatedly exploits the rhetoric of persuading her audience to stand for a French referendum on deciding the future of their fate with the EU.

France must first regain its freedom, its freedom as a state, and its freedom as a nation.

A free France is a sovereign and independent France!

Regaining our sovereignty means regaining our legislative freedom when our most essential laws are decided in Brussels and imposed on the French people either without their knowledge or against their will.

(Marine Le Pen, 2013)

It is therefore not too surprising, that Le Pen hailed 'Brexit' as "the most important event in Europe since the fall of the Berlin wall." And through this vote, Britain has begun to bring down what she terms the "Brussels wall." It is worth mentioning the key factors that precipitated Brexit were immigration and sovereignty (*The Economist*, 2016). So therefore immigration is core in Le Pen's political rhetoric and the means to deal with it is first by retrieving France's sovereignty. 'Frexit' in her opinion should precede 'Brexit' if the EU refuses to grant four categories of sovereignty back to France: legislative sovereignty, territorial sovereignty, economic and banking sovereignty, and monetary sovereignty.

She asserts that "other countries have shown us the way." The 'way' as she represents in her February 2017 speech in Lyon-France where she asserts that:

In this presidential election, we represent the camp of the patriots...

We urge all patriots from right or left to join us. Elected or ordinary citizens, wherever you come from, whatever your commitments may have been, you have your place at our side.

Patriots, you are welcome!

As it is possible that presidents like Donald Trump, not only are elected against a coalition system, but above all respect their promises and act quickly and strongly in the interests and wishes of their people. You see it, my dear friends. As Victor Hugo proclaimed in the Terrible Year after the defeat of France: "We have not finished being French yet!"

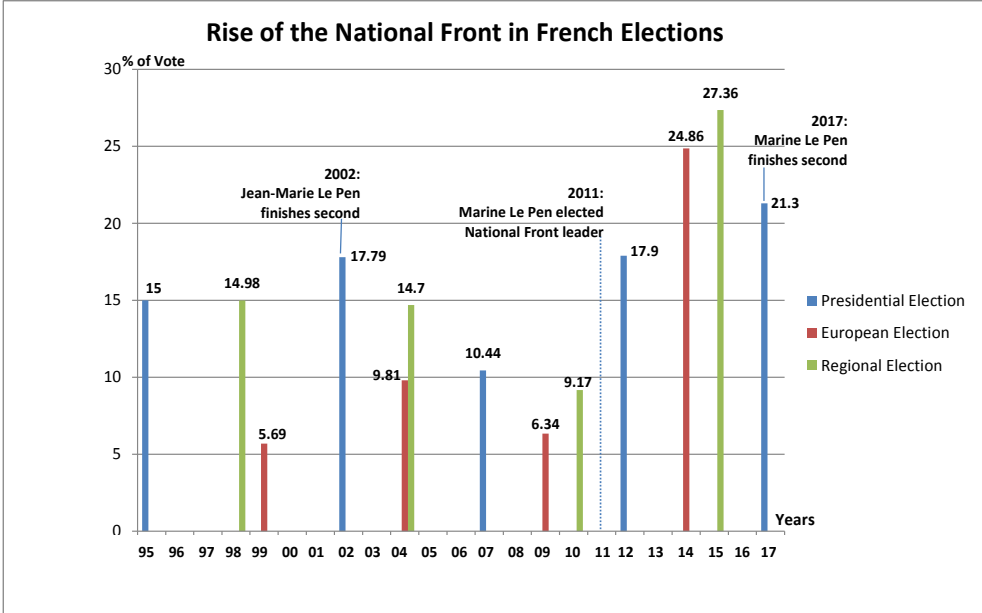
This awakening of peoples is historic. It marks the end of a cycle. The wind of history has turned.

It will take us to the top and, with us, our country: France.

(Marine Le Pen, 2017)

She further adds that "the awakening of those nations is historic and marks the end of an era. The wind of history has changed." Remarkably as Hart & Daughton (2005; 7) put it, both rhetoric

and poetry tell a story but a rhetorician (that is, the one who uses rhetoric) takes special pains to be sure that the moral of the story is clear to the audience. And these arguments partly support the reawakening of the National front as a viable political option in France as shown in the graph below.



5.3 Socio-cultural analysis

The general attack on globalization is its advocacy for free speech and expression and migration as a fundamental human right. That standing innovation that Marine Le Pen gets into here is the claim that “financial globalization and Islamist fundamentalism” are linked and are “the two

ideologies that want to bring France to its knees”. She goes further to assert that these ideologies “both are working to make our nation disappear, by which I mean the France in which we live and that we love. These ideologies want to subjugate our country, one in the name of financial globalization, and the other in the name of fundamentalist Islam.” Immigrants once more carry the blame for rising crime and insecurity in France as she asserts that:

... So where does this rising crime come from?

From the state of being too lenient, but also, let us not deny it, from immigration, from a massive, uncontrolled immigration ... and how many of them illegal?

Every illegal immigrant is an offender, because in a state of laws, having no legal right to be there is an offense. Because today it is an offense without punishment. And even, one may say, an offense that pays and one that is almost rewarded.

Emergency state benefits, emergency social housing, free schooling and free special health care. As for the right of asylum, it has gone completely astray nowadays...

Assimilation into the French nation is indispensable, and this cannot be achieved without ending legal and illegal immigration... What I want is a France that can stand its ground faced up against savage globalization, a France that can gain back its muscle to assert its assets and protect its interest ... the nation can pick itself back up, another form of politics is possible.

(Marine Le Pen, 2013)

We realize here that Marine Le Pen exploits the availability of persuasion in the name of Islamic fundamentalism, to draw a greater audience to her camp. She justifies her anti-immigrant rhetoric to rising crime which she relates to immigration – most of them illegal immigrants. Her justification for it being a crime starts from their status as illegal immigrants which of course is against the law and considered as offenders. So therefore, to assert a France that can protect its interest, ending both legal and illegal immigration according to Le Pen is indispensable. However, there is this great perception that rhetoricians never tell a story for its own sake but for the purpose of achieving a greater end. We realize some degree of continuity in Marine Le Pen’s anti-Islamist rhetoric. She again asserts in 2017 that:

Let's not forget either, but we keep it in our bruised memories, that Islamist fundamentalism is barbarous, that it manifests itself every day in the world by killing, massacring, using in particular the foul and cowardly weapon of terrorism or mass murder. As in all ideological struggles, there are useful idiots, relays, and more or less conscious accomplices who, out of cowardice, blindness or greed, facilitate these enterprises of installation of this barbarian ideology, enemy of France.

(Marine Le Pen, 2017)

In countless of Le Pen's debates, she reiterates the need to sound the alarm for France and possibly the whole of Europe to become more and more aware of the danger of immigration, the danger of being confronted with a clash of civilizations which may in turn any lead to the loss of French values and subsequent impoverishment. According to her, "France is suffering from massive immigration and naturalization which seem somehow irreversible."

Our leaders chose deregulated globalization, they wanted it to be a happy thing, it turned out to be awful. Proceeding only by the research of some of the hyper profit, it develops at a double level, globalization from below with massive immigration, global social dumping, and globalization from above with the 'financialization' of the economy.

(Marine Le Pen, 2017)

It is worth noting that Le Pen is more of the local than the global, more of the particular than the general. Her immediate interest is not about the general interest of Europe or the EU but putting the interest of France above all other interests, first.

It is also worth noting that the National Front's manifesto stipulates the prospect of legislating tougher security measures to counter terrorism, including the possibility of stripping bi-national offenders linked to terrorist networks of their French citizenship. She holds the belief that French citizenship should be "either inherited or merited." It is well true that anti-immigrant sentiment has been on the increase in France in particular and across Europe as a whole, especially in the

wake of recent multiple terrorist attacks that began with a massacre in Paris on November 13, 2015 and took 130 souls.

Since we are at war against Islamist fundamentalism, we will apply to the enemies of France the legal devices of the state of war... Foreigners stocked will be returned to the border. Binationalists busted will be deprived of their French nationality and, the ambiguity on their actual nationality being lifted, they will be returned to their country.

The French caught will be pursued for intelligence with the enemy and struck with national indignity.

The places of Islamic preaching will be closed and the sowers of hatred condemned and expelled. The legal showcases of Islamism, especially on the internet, will be extinguished.

However, we do not intend to sacrifice the freedom of citizens to safety...

Be aware that this fight for sovereignty is first, principal, essential, cardinal, it conditions all the rest. Without sovereignty, no protection possible, no action possible.

Without sovereignty, a project becomes a false promise.

(Marine Le Pen, 2017)

To Marie le Pen, “We do not want to live under the yoke or the threat of Islamic terrorism,” and therefore promised a “zero tolerance” to terrorism. This clarion call for tougher security measures may also have stemmed from the brutal Charlie Hebdo attack of 2015 which she terms “a cancer on Islam.” Islamic fundamentalism to Le Pen is probably the ideology resulting in more terror and unhappiness in the world than any other.

Yes, the FN is an example for all political parties in France.

He showed his democratic maturity, but more than that, in the past years, he has shown that he is a great Republican political party.

At the National Front, we remember this: The Declaration of Rights and Duties of the Man and the Citizen of 1789 declares in its article 2: "The goal of any political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of the man.

These rights are freedom, property, safety, and resistance to oppression.

(Marine Le Pen, 2011)

In essence, Garsten (2009; 130) analyzes this Aristotelian definition where he claimed that “the goal of rhetoric was not to persuade but rather to observe the available means of persuasion in any particular case.” So therefore, France must stand firmly in the face of rising terrorism to safeguard freedom and resist oppression.

It may be well true that interpreting the events of contemporary politics is not quite easy. In many instances when Marine Le Pen addresses her rallies, her supporters punctuate her speech by chanting the phrase or slogan “*on est chez nous, on est chez nous*” (We are at home or this is our home). Moullot (2016) asserts that “this phrase is indicative of what the National Front party is: a xenophobic, anti-immigrant party.” Marine Le Pen advances a campaign on ‘xenophobic’ themes. She argues that “wild globalization has been a catastrophe for most.”

My opponents claim to control the borders, return to the right of the soil, prevent immigration, fight against unfair competition.

They lie to you.

By refusing to free themselves from the straitjacket of the European Union which is the decision-maker on these subjects, they refrain themselves any inflection even minor.

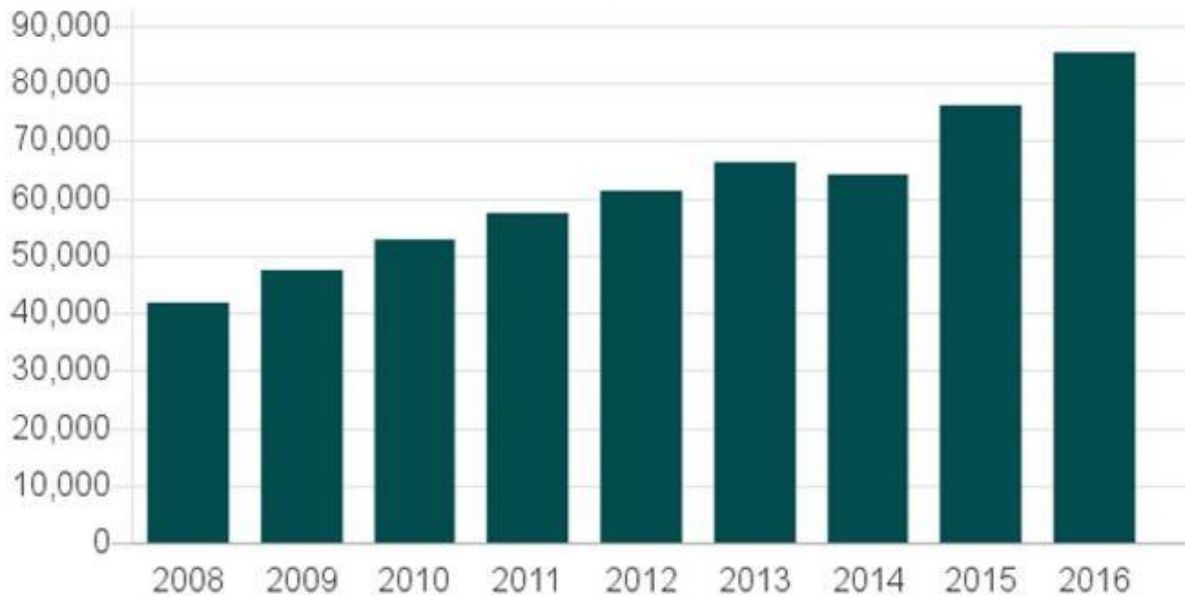
Worse, staying in the euro, they plague our economy, maintain mass unemployment and give the European Union the means of pressure to impose its views, its inane directives, its millions of migrants. Everyone agrees, the European Union is a failure. She did not keep any of her promises, especially on prosperity and security, and worse, she put us under tutelage, kept on a short leash. Who could be satisfied to do nothing in front of a system that connects us, which does not work and worse whose dysfunctions ruin us?

(Marine Le Pen, 2017)

A catastrophe which has ravaged the French economy, as jobs have faded away and immigrants have flooded in, many of them Muslim immigrants from North Africa”. She further advocates that “no person who has entered the country illegally will be able to obtain resident status, nor become a citizen.” This rhetoric as earlier mentioned may partly arouse from her attack on immigrants for “implanting fundamentalist Islam.” The rhetoric follows in another speech as she asserts that “we will be all about the local, not the global.” She out rightly decries globalization: not just that of the financial world but also, “a globalization from below, via mass migration.”

Let us have a brief review of the asylum application index in France between 2008 and 2016. 2008 is also a remarkable year in this study because it brought in the Global Financial Crisis which greatly weakened the EU with some of its members needing financial bailout. It also ushered in a feeling of great discontent with the EU as most realized in the handling of the crisis that they had lost financial sovereignty to Brussels. 2011 is also a remarkable year in the context of this study because it marked the beginning of the Arab Spring and consequently the great influx of asylum seekers in Europe and by 2015 – 2016, the EU had registered an estimated 1.3 million asylum seekers.

Asylum applications made in France, 2008-16



Source: Eurostat/OFPRA



Another point worth discussing in relation to Marine Le Pen's political rhetoric on immigration is in relation to the concept of *laïcité* which is enshrined in the first article of the French Constitution of 1958 and states that, "France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion. It shall respect all beliefs. It shall be organized on decentralized basis." In essence, this concept rejects the existence of a state religion, the separation of the state from the church. In present day interpretation of this concept in French society, nothing connected with religious practice or belief should be exhibited in public space. A similar law in 2004 imposed a ban on the wearing of head-scarves (hijab) by Moslem women in public spaces (like schools for example), or the wearing of noticeable/visible crucifix by Christians, or the wearing of skullcap by Jews. This has been one of Marine Le Pen's core concern since she became president in 2011 as can be read in her maiden speech:

Here is what we want and what we will say to the French at the heart of the political deadlines of the coming months: We want to implement a policy based on the reordering

of the Nation-State by recovered sovereignty, the revitalization of democracy through the participation of citizens in matters that concern them, a protective and effective State at the service of the national community, guaranteeing secularism, prosperity and freedom.

(Marine Le Pen, 2011)

Intensifying her rhetoric on immigration Marine Le Pen's argues that immigrants (asylum seekers) are "draining resources, rejecting French values and transforming the culture." The general assertion here is that of the loss of French identity due to ultra-liberalism. Immigrants are increasingly failing to comply with French laws, customs, codes or lifestyle and at the end, French citizens end up submitting themselves to these immigrants' cultures. She classifies the 'chaotic' immigration pattern as submerging French values and also defeating the French integration policy of assimilation as French people are rather being assimilated to foreign norms.

Wild globalisation has benefited some, but it's been a catastrophe for most. A catastrophe which has ravaged the French economy, as jobs have faded away and immigrants have flooded in, many of them Muslim immigrants, from North Africa.

They are draining resources, rejecting French values and transforming the culture

(Marine Le Pen, 2018)

It therefore no doubt that she hailed the British people for standing up to the "totalitarian EU, that prison of people," and vowed that 'Frexit' is next on the line. This anti-immigration rhetoric in my opinion is the most appealing theme to her supporters. Garsten (2009; 130) argues from Socrates' suggestion that rhetoricians have nothing to aim at except their listeners' pleasure and gratification. For this reason, he calls rhetoric the counterpart (antistrophe) of cookery.

Let's have a quick review of the surprising trend of words that raise wider insinuations and repercussions in relation to the migration crisis.

The repetitive use of the word *massive* has a negative connotation in regard to the Front National's perception of immigration – which brings along with it an immense force that is submerging French society and economy in a regrettable manner. The repetitive use of such

“soft” but meaningful word reiterates the FN’s commitment to its *dédiabolisation* strategy. As analyst, we must however probe the contextual meaning of this unusual shift to question what purpose it may have been designed to serve. Bearing in mind that immigration is on an enormous scale – which the FN considers to be a problem, *massive* can be perceived with a negative connotation in relation to the party’s perception of immigration [clandestine] as a “wide ranging and overwhelming evil.”

I think the increasing use of the word *clandestins*⁴ in both semantic context and policy text would have been an excellent port of departure in this project. Its up-the-scale use suggests the FN’s distinction between desirable immigrants and undesirable immigrants. By talking about border breaching, welfare expenses, squatters, terrorism, the FN draws voters’ attention to issues regarding security, taxation, public spending, etc. which entices them. Marine Le Pen’s general attitude to this situation is “France for the French” and hence, the avocation of ‘*préférence française*⁵’.

By building an argument that *clandestins* are not only viewed as outsiders, but also as a burden on public resources and a social threat to the society – a concept that characterizes *clandestins* in a way that *immigrés*⁶ does not – rebrands Le Pen’s rhetoric to garner wider mainstream acceptance. However, *clandestins* are still considered by the FN’s ideology as a direct threat to “true” French by exhausting public funds on the extremely high cost of housing, education, and health care. These claims amount to some kind of stereotypes on asylum seekers vis-à-vis societal issues related to crime, violence, and insecurity in genera. The FN alleges compatibility between clandestins and crime and this brings in the identity discourse of “us vs. them” that catapults to racial tensions that would be discussed in the later part of this research.

⁴ *Clandestins*. [clandestine] – illegal migration across a country’s borders in such a way that violates the immigration laws of the said state.

⁵ *Préférence française*. [French preference for employment]

⁶ *immigrés*. [immigrants]

In my analyses, Marine Le Pen clearly seizes this analogy of rhetoric in her speech of the 2013 party summer conference in Marseilles to appeal the burning concerns of her audience.

From the above speeches, we realize that Marine Le Pen tries to establish the fact that France is not fundamentally right - hence requiring new choice-making by the audience and that it can soon be made right by making the (narrow) choices she endorses. To support this, I quote from this interesting phrase by Garsten (2009) that politicians “on the strength of these talents (rhetoric), they enjoy the popularity of a successful general without having mastered the art of war.” Galvanizing a people to yourself by the technique of deliberating various pathways between various beliefs and emotions is quite professional. It is well true that the unending conflicts in the Middle East and Africa are creating a refugee nightmare in Europe in particular. Politicians argue that these unprecedented and unusually high numbers of refugees is primarily blamed for the sharp increase in crime and act of terrorism. The situation they argue is even made worse with fast invading concept of globalization and the inability of individual EU member states to effectively and autonomously control their borders.

These two globalism, today, are the short scale:

- * The financial and business-oriented globalism of which the European Union, finance and the essence of a domesticated political class are the zealous servants;
- * Jihadist globalism that undermines our vital interests abroad, but also that is implanted on our national territory, in certain neighborhoods, in certain places, in some weak minds. And both of them work for the disappearance of our nation, that is, of France in which we live, which we love, which is why the French have a feeling of dispossession.

These two ideologies want to subject our countries.

One in the name of globalized finance, that is to say the ideology of all trade, the other in the name of a radicalized Islam, that is to say, the ideology of all religious...

Faced with these two totalitarianisms that threaten our freedoms and our country, we no longer have the time, nor the means of angelism, false pretenses, small arrangements, great cowardice...

(Marine Le Pen, 2017)

It is on these premises that far-Right French politician Marine Le Pen bases her campaign propaganda – anti-immigration and anti-globalization. It is worth noting according to Garsten (2009, p. 2), that “persuasive talk aims to sway people by learning their tastes and offering them what they crave for”. For this reason, democratic politicians have always risked becoming servants rather than rulers, catering to their audience’s sweet tooth.

It is on this recent interplay of global events that I base my research on the theme, *Immigration and the Revival of Nationalist Sentiments in France: A Nationalistic Rhetoric of Marine Le Pen*. But I sometimes think that this assertion of linking migration to the rise of nationalism in France based on the analysis of political rhetoric is a gross exaggeration. Bauer & Gaskell (2000; 210) argues that “this attitude towards analysis commits the ‘intentionalist’ fallacy”. For example, should we have to examine rhetorical analysis as the reconstruction of the intention of authors and speakers, and then we give the impression that their actions are divine. This is a danger of many types of analysis, but one that has especially plagued rhetorical analysis.

In brief, Le Pen centers her rhetoric on the theme of sovereignty – territorial, monetary, judicial and economic, which is the fundamental basis of the nation. She agrees that the EU project was initially thought to be a good thing but they [Brussels] made an ideology out of it which keeps all member nations under its tutelage and provides favorable ground for another form of globalization – radical Islam.

The globalization that was a fact with the multiplication of exchanges, they made it an ideology: the economic globalism which refuses any limitation, any regulation of the globalization and which, for that, weakened the immune defenses of the Nation, the dispossessed of its constitutive elements: frontier, national currency, authority of its laws, conduct of the economy, thus allowing another form of globalism to be born and grow: Islamist fundamentalism...

(Marine Le Pen, 2017).

Le Pen orders her discourse in accordance with sets of formalized rules and frequently uses such words in French as *compatriots*, *patriots sincere*, *citoyens*, *nation*, etc. which creates an impact

by appealing to the emotions of the electorate, thereby bringing out from them the nationalist spirit of French patriots. She brings up arguments which the audience may already agree on in order to create a link of identity between her and the audience. We cannot ignore the minor details about her choice of words and form of expression that triggers the popular nationalist chant: “*ons est chez nous.*”⁷

Due to the multi-racial and multi-ethnic demography of present day France, the *laïcité* becomes an integral part of the country’s governing system in order to ensure the circularity of the state and the non-religiosity of public space. In short, the theme of sovereignty in all its ramifications is core in Le Pen’s rhetoric as a prerequisite for France’s ability to deal squarely with immigration while the *laïcité* guarantees the circularity of the state.

Like many other authors, it has been difficult to pinpoint the exact turning point of the FN’s electoral success. Some pose the question: has the FN moved from the backstage anti-system movement to a mainstream political party with republican values? Others still, ask whether the French political battleground which has long been dominated by bipartisan politics has finally been axed to a tripartite system. However, I do not wholly agree with Stockemer’s (2015) assertion as sufficient reason to acclaim the FN’s electoral breakthrough and this breakthrough should not be wholly considered as a sustainable political success for the FN.

As earlier mentioned by Bauer & Gaskell (2000; 209) that:

Whether one is choosing an oral discourse, an image or a written document, an overtly persuasive discourse such as political speeches and advertising or more covert persuasion such as a scientific article or newspaper feature, the context of discourse should be the first port of call when embarking on rhetorical analysis.

I also realized that it is not in all cases where we have to work within the box. “Sometimes, new sensations are just what is required to make the difference,” Hart & Daughton (2005; 19).

⁷ *ons est chez nous.* [we are at home]

So therefore, rhetoric is with us, for both good and ill. It is with us because most worthwhile ideas come from groups of people working together. In the same light, for religions to thrive there must be disciples. For ideas to be understood there must be instructors. For justice to be served there must be lawyers. To turn our backs on rhetoric will be to turn our backs on the sharing of ideas and hence any practical notion of human community. So therefore, rhetoric is with us because it must be with us.

To summarize this chapter, rhetoric could be a technical art of deliberation insofar as it studies the internal structure of public opinion, looking for deliberative pathways between various beliefs and emotions. Thus, “the practice of persuasion seems prone to two forms of corruption. In trying to persuade, democratic politicians may end up manipulating their audiences, or they may end up pandering to them,” Garsten (2009; 135). I find a high degree of continuity in Marine Le Pen’s rhetoric over the years 2011 – 2017, though she sometimes rebrands the discourse to suite republican values. I also paint a picture of the FN as a party that effectively responds to opportunity structures. That is, a party that rebrands its program to match the preferences of its voters and for the interest of the entire French Nation; as a party that picks up salient issues from the electorate; and a party that has at least somewhat broadened its vote base. Also, I found this unique extract of Marine Le Pen’s speech which summarizes all the core themes of her rhetoric [political, economic and socio-cultural]:

The people of France must now seize the historic opportunity that presents itself. Because what this election is about is the savage globalization that endangers our civilization.

The people of France face a simple choice:

Either we continue on the path of total deregulation, no borders, no protection, and everything that entails jobs being shipped overseas, unfair competition, mass immigration, the free movement of terrorists. A world where money is king.

Or you choose France, with borders that protect our workers, our purchasing power, our security, our national identity.

You have the choice to bring about change.

Real change.

(Marine Le Pen, 2017).

6. GENERAL DISCUSSION

This research work has broad themes related to the rise of populist ideology in Europe in general and France in particular. It has been my objective to consider immigration on its own terms in relation to working to understand what specific implication it has on the political platform of French politics via the National Front under Marine Le Pen's leadership and how she has exploited the chaotic immigration situation to bolster her populist rhetoric and taking the FN to the spotlight in contemporary French politics. I emphasize the fact that unregulated immigration is affecting France's nationalist reawakening as portrayed Marine Le Pen's speeches. Therefore, understanding different social, economic and political themes in contemporary global situations help to answer overarching questions related to the resurgence of populist politics in France. Immigration is but only one of these many themes which I have singled out for analysis and how the National Front's leader is exploiting this situation to ascend to the center stage of French politics.

Marine Le Pen in many ways is an energetic and charismatic leader who has purified and reshaped the image of the National Front. The National Front has garnered soaring popularity, and this comes as a result of its leader's use of strong words to denounce illegal migration that brings along with it, radical Islamism. All these put together are themes that are highly debated in parliament, media houses, academics, etc. and from diverse perspectives – whether economic, social, political, cultural, etc. Whether we understand the party [FN] as one that is trying to break the traditional order of leftists and Centrists wield of political power, or as a party that is forcing its way in as a mainstream political party, or better still as a party that wants to “put France back on track,” only one thing is very clear; current French politics is not business as usual.

The results of this research prove that Mairne Le Pen has successfully exploited rising immigrant and attributes rising crime and job loss as a direct effect of uncontrolled immigration. She uses this rhetoric to present herself as the sole candidate that can get France back on track. The

success of this rhetoric can be seen in electoral results since she assumed leadership of the FN. Just one year after taking from her father as the FN'S president, she finish third in the 2012 presidential elections with 17.9%, rising 7.35% compared to her father's previous 2017 presidential results. In 2014, Marine Le Pen scores 24.85% in the European elections thereby giving the FN the majority (24) seats of the 74 seats allocated for France in the European parliament. Still in 2015, the FN scored 27.36% in the Regional elections thereby making the best result the FN has ever had in regional elections in France. Lastly, Marine Le Pen finished second in the 2017 presidential elections with 23.3% vote. What more could be needed to prove mainstream acceptability of Marine Le Pen's rhetoric by the electorate.

To put all this together, we can say that Aristotle marked out as susceptible to technical-artistic analysis the following practice - that of observing which considerations were most appropriate to advance when trying to persuade people accustomed to deliberating, whose desires and goals were characterized by some degree of organization, an organization provided in part by their political context, Garsten (2009; 135). The French presidential election officially kicked off on Sunday, 23 April and ended on Sunday, 7 May and the success of Le Pen's rhetoric was judged based on the response of the electorate in the polls. But worth questioning is how to measure the success of rhetoric. According to Garsten (2009; 130) experts in a '*techne*' were usually judged on their success in producing the product of their craft. What did rhetoric produce? One answer would be that it produced persuasion in the audience.

The migrant crisis is affecting the world at large, but most especially Europe which has received the largest wave of immigrants in the continent since the end of WWII. This unexpected large group of immigrants not only leads to rising nationalist sentiments in France in particular as portrayed in marine Le Pen's speeches but the EU at large and creating division within the group as individual member states differ in the approach to tackle the issue of immigration. The recent and ongoing migration influx is stretching an already fragile European Union with a supposed 'East -West divide'. Recent interplay of politics (concrete reinforcements, erecting of wired fences, stiff border controls) in Eastern EU countries which serve as main routes for incoming traffic of migrants (asylum seekers), have portrayed a deep crack in the EU's single policy, and

differentiation in the opinion of its leaders. In fact, I tempted to assert that while the 2008 financial crisis divided the EU in debtors and creditors, the recent migration crisis is splitting the European Union further into the East and West.

Hungary in 2015 paved the way as one of the first Eastern EU state to openly show defiance of the European Union by building a wired fence on its borders with Croatia and Serbia. In fact, the Hungarian Prime Minister is quoted as saying that “If we cannot secure the outer border [of the EU], regardless of how costly or demanding that is, we will destroy the Schengen regime ourselves” (*Sputnik*, 2016). In a similar move, Macedonia, a non-EU member state blocked its borders with Greece, while Croatia and Slovenia have blocked the corridor to migrants trying to pass through these countries. Austria on its part has imposed what the EU sees as an infamous limit on migrants permitted to pass through its borders. This situation according to *Sputnik* (2016) led to about 13.000 trapped refugees in Greece, leaving the EU with fewer options but to turn farther East to help for assistance.

The ‘Eastern bloc’ comprised of Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, and Czech Republic is united in their supposed approach to the migrant crisis. One may interpret from their inter-play of politics that “they want fences, not quotas, seeking to look after people living in their own country and not refugees fleeing theirs” (*Sputnik*, 2016).

In some sigh of relief, the EU entered a deal with Turkey to help ease the migrant influx into its territory. By this agreement, all migrants arriving to Greece through Turkey will be sent back to Turkey. In exchange, Turkey would receive €6 billion as assistance for the vast refugee population hosted in the country. Moreover, Turkish nationals would benefit visa-free travel to Europe and, once the migration trend stabilizes, a “voluntary” humanitarian scheme for the transfer Syrian refugees from Turkey to other EU states would be activated (Amnesty International, 2017). But most intriguing is the disagreements in the European Union relocation plan of refugees within the bloc. Member states either disagree on the plan in general, or with the proposed quotas.

The EU's great relocation plan for an estimated 160.000 refugees from Greece and Italy throughout its 28-member states is facing stiff resistance from the 'Eastern bloc' and the EU's Commissioner for Migration, Dimitris Avramopoulos lamented back in May 2017 that some states had willingly failed to adhere to this plan by not relocating a single refugee "in breach of their obligations" and threatened that legal was quite an option. In essence, this relocation plan serves the integrity of the whole Schengen area and according to Dimitris, "one element remains critical for the success of the scheme: the political will and the mutual cooperation and trust between members" (*Independent*, 2017)

It is therefore not logical that while some member states are putting in real effort in the European spirit for the success of the plan, others show no real solidarity. As a sign of good fate, the EU, in September 2015 revised the figures to 98.000 after realizing that fewer than expected people were actually eligible for the plan. Still, Poland and Hungary hold their stand on non-compliance which prompted an infringement proceeding in June 2017 against Hungary, Poland and Czech Republic. With legal proceedings against member states, the division within the EU about immigration becomes crystal clear. But the great question of the day is, what is the way forward?

However, the EU project in its entirety is about integration and not isolation. The challenge remains on how to re-engage with backsliding member states rather than punishing them because the impact will be felt much more by the voters than by the political leaders hence distancing them further away from the EU into the arms of their 'illiberal' leaders. So therefore, propagating state-level or EU-level nationalism in the face of mass migration is akin to taking medication that is worse than the ailment. Such rhetoric (populism) "poses a direct challenge to the EU and its tradition of procedural and rules-based governance. Indeed, it strikes at the very core of the European project."

A more pragmatic and comprehensive approach in minimizing controversies would focus on defending the core values of democracy and the rule of law contra populist invasion. It is worth noting that these values are at the very core of the European Union's DNA and fundamental in bonding its civilization together.

7. CONCLUSION

After a careful analysis of immigration as a catapulting factor to the resurgence of populist politics in France as portrayed in Marine Le Pen's speeches, great questions still remain: what is the way forward? Are we asking more questions than we can provide answers? Is history repeating itself within a short interval?

Nationalism is multi-dimensional and is expressed in many diverse ways. Similarly, its awareness is evoked by different factors. In the case of this study, I have examined only immigration as factor that evokes nationalist rhetoric as portrayed in Le Pen's speeches. There are many more causes that could be researched in relation to the reawakening of populist politics in France.

It is satisfying to realize how much exciting results this project has produced and contributed to knowledge. However, it does not come without its own limitations. Chief amongst which is the generation of text from French to English in which some information may have been left out in the translation process or may not carry the same meaning, or express the same gravity as the original text. However, this does not in any way jeopardize the quality and authenticity of the results.

Lastly, this research was commenced shortly before an electoral year in France which put the researcher in a midway position between past electoral data and incoming electoral data on one hand, and writing in the past and future tense depending on what time I found myself in the electoral period.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

First extract : (15 &16 January 2011)

‘Discours de Marine Le Pen, Présidente du Front National, lors du Congrès de Tours des 15 et 16 janvier 2011’

[Speech by Marine Le Pen, President of the National Front, at the Tours Congress on January 15 & 16, 2011]

Dear friends, gathered here, dear militants of the National Front with us all over the country, dear compatriots of metropolis and Overseas,

I cannot begin this intervention without telling you how proud I am to see the National Front manage to bring this particular moment of its history to a successful conclusion.

I particularly want to thank Bruno Gollnisch for his fairplay throughout this campaign and his exemplary behavior on the threshold of the great presidential battle.

We can be proud together, my dear friends, of this very beautiful and rich internal campaign, which was the occasion of a fruitful debate, on our project, on our strategic vision.

The loyalty and fruitfulness of the debates showed all the French the maturity of our movement.

At this hour, I realize that the eminent distinction you have kindly granted me, constitutes a terrible responsibility that I accept with the greatest humility.

I will exercise it, be sure, with the sole determination to serve.

Measuring the weight of the mission you entrust to me, I will be honored and reassured to know you by my side.

On this road strewn with pitfalls, we will show them that men of action have the habit of making the obstacle a means.

This internal vote has been very useful.

This vote will give our project added credibility and therefore a special strength. Never, perhaps, has an imaginative expression of our beautiful language been so adapted as that of "passing the torch"; this torch, that of the National Front, so magnificent and so prestigious in my eyes as an activist, that I receive, moreover, the hands of Jean-Marie Le Pen.

For a long time, it was only a small flame, that with some companions united by an incredible courage and an immoderate love of France, the founding President held in his hands to avoid it dying out.

In his function as Honorary President, his irreplaceable experience as his serene authority and the rectitude of his thought will be for us, will be for me, a decisive support.

I was for 42 years the privileged witness of this fight.

I saw the righteousness, the nobility of soul, the perseverance, the vision and sometimes the bravery with which he assumed the direction of the National Front, all qualities that allow today, to affirm that he has unquestionably raised to the height of history.

As a girl, I also saw, under the carapace of the chief, the wounds caused by the injustice of the treatment done to our movement, our militants and therefore to itself.

We all have a debt to him, mine is double since President and father, he has largely contributed to make me, not only the activist, but also the woman that I am.

Today I would just like to say thank you.

It will be almost 40 years ago, when I was 3 years old, the National Front was born.

In 1972, we were still in the midst of the "glorious thirties".

We now see how extraordinary sensitivity was needed to perceive in the midst of a prosperous and carefree society what foreshadowed the France we live in today.

And here we are, nearly 40 years later.

Today, we measure how well Jean-Marie Le Pen was right, how much the men and women who have since risen to join us have formed and still form the most lucid, selfless and brave part of our people.

The French people, this people whose name was associated everywhere and always in the world with intelligence and freedom. The National Front was the movement of the awakeners.

Yes, the FN is an example for all political parties in France.

He showed his democratic maturity, but more than that, in the past years, he has shown that this is a great Republican political party.

At the National Front, we remember this: The Declaration of Rights and Duties of the Man and the Citizen of 1789 declares in its article 2: "The goal of any political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of the man.

These rights are freedom, property, safety, and resistance to oppression. "

Who better than we have defended these principles throughout 40 years of French political history?

Nobody in truth, because these principles are at the heart of the DNA of our movement since its origin.

Who better than the National Front can today bear these principles?

Yes, I say to all opinion-makers, doubt is no longer permitted. This election has been very useful, and the result leaves no doubt.

In the fight we are fighting for France, it has conferred on the political and strategic vision that I defend a clear and now incontestable legitimacy.

This choice, your choice, will give my candidacy and our project a stronger credibility: the strength of clarity.

But even more, everyone knows now what the members of the National Front want for France.

Once again, the whole world is watching us and France.

And the barking we do not hear anymore.

And censorship we do not see anymore.

And bullying and violence do not scare us anymore.

Because we are in the eye of the cyclone, at the precise moment when reality reminds our compatriots at every moment that we were right to alert them, it is now, that they know that we are telling the truth.

This great Frenchman, Paul-Emile Victor, often said that "what worried him the most in the human race is that it could adapt to almost anything."

The state of our country is catastrophic but in the continuity of everyday life, some French sometimes lose sight of it.

We sometimes need a short week of vacation, a relaxing weekend at a place that has kept its soul, at home or elsewhere, so that when we return we are seized before the state of our country.

I am sure that most of you have already experienced this feeling and that here, too, in the gallery, among these hundreds of foreign journalists, many have experienced in themselves this shock: but what has become of France?

Who can now prevent the French from seeing the transformation of their cities, the uprising of our ruling classes, and the super-rich who sell our work, our heritage, injustice everywhere, widespread injustice and the tyranny of disorder and violence, the destruction of our landscapes

and our quality of life, the commodification of our culture, the wild reign of money, the renouncement of the liberticidal claims of minorities who seek to impose their values on us?

Who can convince the French that all this is not true?

Manipulators, ideologues, advertisers, censors can lie again and again; they will do it for nothing, because the real, the real world, speaks for us.

Dear friends, it is from this moment that will date the irresistible rise of our movement towards power.

From this Congress will begin an unprecedented effort to transform the National Front.

Make our party a tool for building and reviving our country.

To the spectacular work of the awakeners must now, from this day, succeed that of the builders.

We must now make the National Front a tool, a tool to regain power from the hands of those who have dragged our beautiful country so far, in the state where it is today.

A tool for us to take again what was taken on us.

The FN will naturally be the common home of the French, the great house of lovers of France.

The National Front that I will chair will be a renewed, open and effective party.

I set myself as a goal now to make with you the in

Here is what we want and what we will say to the French at the heart of the political deadlines of the coming months: We want to implement a policy based on the reordering of the Nation-State by recovered sovereignty, the revitalization of democracy through the participation of citizens in matters that concern them, a protective and effective State at the service of the national community, guaranteeing secularism, prosperity and freedom.

A state fighting everywhere against the injustice caused by the reign of the money-king.

We will organize the relocation of work and the economy through social and territorial protectionism, in order to prevent unfair competition, the dismantling of our economies and the destruction of our jobs.

In order to do this, we will commit ourselves, as soon as we come to power, to a vast package of reforms designed to eliminate privileges and set up an effective and fair tax and social policy.

We will restore dignity to our institutions and restore to the heart of community life the passion for solidarity, fairness, beauty and high values that underpin our civilization.

We will go to power for this and for nothing else because it is that the French want, I am sure.

That's what we all want!

We will have to restore the Nation.

Save it from arbitrariness, feudalism and communitarianism, illegitimate technocrats.

We want to restore the Nation by freeing it and restoring fundamental rights.

The power of the people, by the people and for the people.

In a nutshell, we want to put the state back in the hands of the people.

If we want democracy, if we want the French to be masters of their destiny, it is because we believe in their common sense, in their lucidity.

Democracy does not scare us.

To regain power over our lives and hope to one day put it in the hands of our children, the National Front has engaged in a fight for the independence and sovereignty of France.

In short, we want to be able to decide what is good for us.

It's simple and it's the very essence of democracy for millennia since ancient Greece.

Europe is not a caliphate, France is not a caliphate, it has never been, it will never be.

Our vision of democracy is not incantatory but practical.

We do not envision a democracy as an agglutination of uprooted and dissimilar individuals participating in elections to elect interchangeable candidates:

Strauss-Kahn or Sarko,

the euro or the euro,

immigration or immigration,

relocations or relocations,

unemployment or unemployment ...

We want to restore the political framework of the national community.

Direct democracy is the best form of government, especially because it is the one that allows citizens, members of the same community to be involved in decision-making, to participate with complete sovereignty, and it is this participation that is guarantee of civic responsibility and collective bond.

Restoring national sovereignty means first of all getting out of the stifling and destructive straitjacket of Brussels in which we have been locked up in spite of ourselves and which deprives us of any margin of maneuver in whole fields of political action: money, legislation, controlling our borders, managing immigration ...

Let's not deceive ourselves indeed.

At the rate things are going, our fiscal policy and our diplomacy will soon be fully submitted to Brussels.

The Europe of Brussels was built by denying or bypassing the will of the people.

Brussels Europe has everywhere imposed the destructive principles of ultra-liberalism and free trade, to the detriment of public services, employment, social equity and even our economic growth which, in twenty years, has become the weakest in the world.

This Brussels-based Europe has forced us to abolish state administrations and services in all areas of public life:

- the decline of public services such as La Poste,
- the closure of courts,
- the closing of small colleges, maternities, hospitals,
- the disorganization of the army, of the national education,
- the closing of consulates abroad,
- the suppression of the departmental directorates of the State,
- the reduction of the number of police and gendarmes in a country that has had more than 1.7 million flights and nearly 500,000 assaults in 2009 alone ...

The French state has put itself at the service of the Brussels bureaucracy, which is mishandling the fine idea of European entente and substituting for it a technocratic, totalitarian project harmful to our liberties.

Sovereignty is not an old moon for nostalgic spirit, it is fundamental, it is to the nation what freedom is to the individual.

Our monetary sovereignty, that is to say, our ability to defend our jobs, has been sacrificed to dogmas,

=> the Europeanist dogma that proceeds from a supranational approach that is to say fundamentally anti-national;

=> the dogma of the euro which is no longer a monetary tool but a ball that we try to make last to save at all costs a building in Brussels that will no longer defy the laws of balance;

=> the dogma of ultra-liberalism and laissez-faireism of the good students of globalization while China and the United States practice unbridled protectionism.

The Europeanist monster that is being built in Brussels and which by semantic imposture is presented as "Europe", is nothing less than a conglomerate under American protectorate, the antechamber of a total, global, global state.

Today, we are being told to abandon our budget sovereignty in the hands of irresponsible technocrats.

If this eventuality were to come to fruition, all that remained was to dissolve Parliament, since its primary function of the so-called "national" representation is to consent to taxation.

This new institutional abandonment would mark the end of France as a state. Thus, after having dreamed of the economy without a factory, the European-globalism would have ended up imposing the idea of country without people.

Let it be clear! We will never accept this crime against democracy and this crime against France. Repeat it, the key is the state. It is necessary to find the State by putting it back in the service of the people and for that by chasing the cuckoos which made it the belt of transmission of the wills of the multinationals and hyper world class.

Because the state has become the instrument of renunciation, in the face of money, in the face of the increasingly insistent will of the financial markets, billionaires who unravel our industry and throw millions of men and women of our country into unemployment, precariousness and misery.

The nation-state must again impose itself by putting its objectives and methods in order.

This choice of the nation that I will carry with you will require a great rearrangement of the nation-state.

In a country where the Nation was built by the will of the State, one does not go without the other.

State, Nation, are, moreover, notions that are not self-evident, and it would be mortal to believe that this marvelous construction would be acquired for eternity.

In the end, you have understood my dear friends, there is no democracy in France, no freedom, no justice possible without the state.

The State is the first instrument at the service of the values that I reminded you of, which are at the heart of our political project.

My deep conviction is that France and the French people need more than ever a strong state!

The State and the Nation are indeed in our country inseparable.

Elsewhere often, the state is seen as an instrument of collective action among others. This is the Anglo-Saxon conception, that of countries where nations are older than states.

These countries are easily accommodating a minimal state, which is asked not to disrupt the free play of markets.

France, I think, does not fall under this model.

The French Nation has succeeded the State.

It is the State, through the constitution of the royal domain, then the Republic, which forged the Nation.

The French people are the result of fifteen centuries, at least, of a slow and patient work of unification: territorial unification, economic unification, political unification, legal and institutional unification, linguistic unification.

Throughout our fifteen hundred years of history, we have searched for the unity that distinguishes us, but this unity is a jewel that we must constantly cherish.

What were the aims, if not the construction and the consolidation of national unity, of the Baptism of Clovis, the work of unifying kings, Henry IV and his "Paris is worth a Mass", the builders of our cathedrals, the codes of Bonaparte, the black hussars of the third republic, the resistance fighters of 40 or the soldiers of our empire?

We are the heirs of this millennial work, and we benefit from it every day, without even realizing it!

Even today, it is the state that largely ensures the unity of our nation.

Thanks to its institutions, its army, its schools, its universities, its companies, its cultural heritage, its rurality and its peasants, its public services, its system of social protection, the State has become the backbone of France that we love, from France that the world has admired.

At a time when the crisis and globalization is raging, when everything collapses, there is still the state. "To one who has nothing, the homeland is his only good," said Jaurès in his time, also betrayed by the left of the IMF and beautiful neighborhoods!

When it is necessary to regulate, protect, innovate, it is towards the state that one turns naturally, because it is the state which has the sufficient size to act, the democratic legitimacy indispensable, and that it is inscribed in our national DNA.

I affirm, the state is an essential component of the soul of France.

Unfortunately, as at the worst moments of its history, our Nation is in the grip of dislocation.

She knows a social and identity fracture which even the most stupid end up being terrified. Our values of civilization, our traditions as well as our ways of life or our customs are contested in many places, in our schools, in public places; in whole neighborhoods, they even totally lose their rights of citizenship.

The French are victims of discrimination organized legally by the state and are even the subject of racist remarks or violence in their own country.

Subjected to neurotic repentance, the Nation is demoralized; it sinks into pessimism.

Nationality is conceived as an administrative situation which, in the minds of its new owners, gives only rights.

The tricolor flag is burned publicly and replaced by foreign emblems;

our national anthem is whistled by thugs who behave like conquered countries.

The national identity card has taken the form of a hideous credit card that the prefectures like to deliver to those who demand it.

Many of our compatriots do not hesitate to make the terrible observation of not being at home in France or being forced to cope with lifestyles or individual or collective behaviors that hit them.

Some, weaker, silently, resign themselves to a dramatic assimilation upside down.

The public power is satisfied with a referee role, giving free rein to the denial of justice, the proliferation of criminal mafias, the emergence of arrogant political or financial feudalism or the establishment of local potentates who have benefited from the perverse effects of failed decentralization; authorities known as "high" to overcome their lack of legitimacy (such as Hadopi), are unduly entrusted with justice missions; Private associations with criminal prerogatives, such as the so-called "anti-racist" associations, are called upon to play the prosecutors, illegitimate prerogatives that they use abusively to impose a political censorship or to exert a true racket on the litigants.

In this great institutional disorder, some magistrates whose role is to apply the law believe they are authorized to misinterpret it, thus awakening the specter of the parliaments of the Ancien Régime and the government of judges.

The State against the oppression of disorder

Faced with this disintegration of the state, the French feel a double feeling:

- A cruel feeling of abandonment that expresses itself in a silence often resigned
- A fantastic feeling of injustice expressed by the slogan "double standards"

Let's not doubt it! We live the oppression of disorder; Did not Peguy say that "only order makes freedom".

And this freedom is all the more desirable as it is inextricably linked to dignity.

Because it is the first condition of justice, we will rebuild the state and give it back the authority, the neutrality, a national consciousness and the means of operation and modernization it needs.

We must restore the institutions and first of all by returning dignity to the presidential office.

We must regain the spirit of the Fifth Republic by turning our backs on the five-year institutional zapping by a non-renewable seven-year term, a mandate delivered from electoral temptations and "courtermist" reasoning.

To be respected, the President of the Republic must be respectable that is to say, to strive to fulfill the primary mission of his: to ensure national independence, the unity of the nation, the defense capacity of the country. territory and sovereign command of our armies.

The President must be the Head of State and cease to be the Leader of a clan, the governor of an American protectorate, a candidate in the field or, as we have seen, the agent of a singer with declining success.

In the government must apply a state morality that will make governors examples of ethics and probity.

Within the state apparatus, we must find the era of the great clerks, the hussars of the Republic, and the servants of the public interest; without allowing itself to be caught up in the logic of oligarchic grabbing or "functionalist" excitement, the state must obey the national will as it has expressed itself democratically; we must reform the schools of administration in order to re-establish in the higher administration the learning of the sense of the state, patriotism and integrity; (you must learn the Marseillaise enarques); the connivance of caste or the mundane spirit as projects of pantouflage in the private will be banished because they are incompatible with the service of the Nation.

We will build the irreproachable state that was promised in 2007.

We will lead our administrations to be more open to the private world by allowing the hiring of people from the company, including experienced employees. We will ensure equal access by maintaining competitions for access to the public service.

The state must reconquer all the lost territories of the Republic and reinstate its total sovereignty over the areas of no right.

We must not be afraid to say that we must not attack delinquency (which is a statistical project) but offenders who are a scornful reality.

And especially drug, poison that destroys the body social, its economy, its networks and its promoters.

In politics, weakness is as much the opposite of virtue as vice.

Faced with this crime that evolves not the American, as it was believed some time ago, but the Brazilian, we no longer have the right not to be inflexible: the response of the state must be police, judicial, prison, administrative for systematic escapes at the border, and educational.

It is necessary to create local criminal courts chaired by magistrates from civil society who will judge in the hours following the misdeeds, the least serious cases and incivilities.

Thus the zero tolerance policy will really be implemented, without overburdening the correctional courts.

The state must regain its regulatory role in economic matters and reclaim control of certain strategic sectors such as energy, transport and, if necessary, banks insensitive to ethical injunctions.

He must assume without complex an economic patriotism and a social patriotism.

The state must turn its back on the tax rush, creating legal insecurity and opaque rules.

The need for transparency, fairness, simplification and efficiency will lead us to offer the French a tax revolution.

Thanks to the fiscal weapon, we will promote positive dynamics in favor of savings and investment, in favor of relocated consumption and export, in favor of labor value and reindustrialisation, in favor of innovation and business creation.

At the same time, dissuasive dynamics against speculation, economic predation or social devastation will be implemented.

Despite our lack of taste for delusions of city-dwellers who confuse ecology and return to the Paleolithic age, common sense forbids us to believe in the viability of a planet whose only collective project would be to generalize to 7 billion people the level of consumption and waste of resources on the US model.

This is why we will engage in a major policy of "relocation" of production, that is to say concretely bringing together production and consumption areas in order to strengthen our food and energy autonomy.

This relocation policy will benefit local and regional producers; it will give priority to local employment and will limit the still uncontrolled expansion of transport infrastructure and reduce the cost of goods through incentive taxation.

Relocation to hiring, production and consumption will reduce the impact of transport and the pollution they generate, reducing the number of intermediaries will ensure better traceability, a guarantee of safety for consumers.

This notion of relocation, which we will discuss later, will also apply more generally to public services, jobs and many other areas.

It will be one of the keys to a genuine ecological policy favoring the return to employment, healthy food production and the defense of biodiversity.

More generally, we must have the courage to denounce the consumerist logic.

Indeed, like all totalitarianisms, globalism proposes to forge a new man. The new man is this poor selfish type, constantly wandering, who is united to others only by the sharing of consumer drives.

No, consumption can not be the alpha and omega of our lives, transforming the citizens we are into simple consumers.

No, we do not want a society where wealth is more important than being, where money set to absolute has become an end in itself, the main criterion of human appreciation.

A society whose horizon is limited to seeing our children seek their identity and their pride through the trademarks of the clothes they wear, rather than in the family they come from or in the people to which they belong.

Yes, it is a requirement for us to keep our capacity for indignation when we pretend to evaluate the happiness of the French only in the light of their consumption projects.

Yes, we must finish with the reign of money-king.

In international matters, our doctrine is inspired by the principles of solidarity between peoples and nations.

It is based on the respect of all peoples and the pre-eminence of regional logic for the settlement of conflicts.

Our vision of foreign policy excludes supranational logic, condemns the interference and, of course, rejects the very idea of global governance that we do not confuse with a diplomacy attentive to international issues.

We see it, we feel it, we are at the end of a system.

Our opponents have no more ideal to propose and their plans for the future are only laborious and hackneyed marketing constructions.

The myth of their management skills has fizzled.

Their Europeanist dream turned into a nightmare.

Their euro, which was to bring us happiness, has undermined our economies, destroyed our purchasing power and even forbids us to preserve French jobs; it is currently in the terminal phase under the infusion of the IMF and is maintained only at the cost of an unprecedented social regression.

Identicidal globalization has turned into economic horror, social tsunami, moral Chernobyl. The utopia of happy globalization has lived.

2012: the great alternative

Yet, to date, our countries have not yet made the choice of the alternative and are reduced to follow and comment on the patchwork of a system that collapses before their eyes. For the French, the choice of 2012 will be simple, clear, and even binary:

- Either the choice of globalization that is to say of deregulation, of the alignment with the least social, of the demographic submersion, the dilution of our values of civilization

- That is the choice of the Nation;

The state must be protective and not oppressive and act with the awareness that the national interest is a law of brass.

The state must be the guarantor, including against the drift of parties, the strict application of republican principles and first and foremost secularism.

In our country, which has been wounded by wars of multiseular religion, no religion should encroach on the public sphere; faith must remain a strictly private affair and its expression not subject to any provocation.

The state must therefore censor and punish all violations of the 1905 law, for example regarding direct or indirect public participation in the construction of mosques.

It must prohibit the development of special schedules in pools for Muslim women or the introduction of religious food prohibitions in school canteens. No one should be driving against their will or without their knowledge to eat hallal.

As a matter of principle, because this question is central to the public peace, I repeat that the Republic will not admit any theocratic temptation. It is up to the faithful to put their religious practice in agreement with the Republic.

As for politico-religious groups who believe they can impose their law through calculated encroachments and organized provocations, they must learn that, especially since Richelieu, there is no and there will be no state in France. in the state.

Because the excesses were too numerous, these principles must be reaffirmed and solemnized. With the inspiration of the Count of Clermont Thunder we proclaim: "everything for the citizens, nothing for the communities": we will inscribe in the Constitution: "The Republic does not recognize any community".

Finally, the state must defend the principles contained in our national motto liberty / equality / fraternity that are nothing but secularized Christian principles.

Just as we have picked up the tricolor flag that the political class has left lying in the brook, we will raise the traditional values of the French Republic; the true defenders of the Republic is us! The National Front embodies the spirit of Resistance

The FN is not just a political party, it embodies today in France the spirit of Resistance,
Resistance to feudalism,
Resistance to injustices,
Resistance to modern totalitarianism that is Islamism and globalism.

The cantonal elections of March 20th and 27th will be the first step in our march towards power. Even if, I do not hide it from you, the situation is serious, we know that the history of our country is an incessant struggle between the forces of decline and those of recovery, between those who go to bed and those who dare to say no, between the self-proclaimed elites who betray and the rising people.

We are the people!

We know that it is characteristic of weak powers to compose, to undergo, to accept, to concede. The genius of our people has always brought out the French to save the honor and, through their determination and lucidity, allowed our country to find the path of a great national ambition. Other French people before us in history have had to lead the fight we are fighting today, which is finally that of eternal France. Like them, we will triumph!

My dear friends, I would like to say to you in conclusion that we must have faith in the future of our country, and as "we only transmit the faith that we have", to transmit it to all our compatriots.

The French are a great people who owns a great country.

France is not small, it is not only this percentage of the world population, as Valéry Giscard d'Estaing disdainfully put it.

Her language, our national language, radiates on the five continents, a privilege that she shares alone with English.

The Francophonie must vibrate again, on the lands of Asia, America, Europe and Africa.

France is present in the three oceans, it has the second largest maritime area in the world, 11 million square kilometers, it possesses an untapped wealth that constitutes our overseas collectivities, never forgetting that they are French territories and that they must remain so!

I also warmly welcome our overseas compatriots who, from our point of view, are an integral part of the French Republic in the same way as any metropolitan area.

Our territory is exceptional; Located in the heart of Europe, it is rich in exceptional diversity, which Fernand Braudel has brilliantly depicted.

We are leaders in many economic sectors, nuclear, aeronautics, agribusiness, space.

Our agriculture, despite its inequalities and the suffering of farmers, has become powerful, it is the second in the world.

Our workers, our engineers, our researchers, our students are admired by the world. There is a French genius that is perpetuated, capable of the best when we know how to mobilize and live it. France rhymes with beauty and culture.

We have a unique cultural, literary, artistic, architectural, religious and culinary heritage that allows us to be by far the world's leading tourist destination. It's not nothing.

We are the land of ideas, of debate, our thinkers and our philosophers are taught everywhere.

Admired all over the world for what she has brought to humanity, France is listened to, followed, supported, provided she knows how to speak right.

The keys to French success, prosperity, radiance and grandeur are therefore in our hands and in our hearts! We have every reason to find the pride of what we are, of this eternal France that has thrilled humanity for centuries, and of which we are the heirs!

Let us start today this fight for France, let us be more numerous, stronger, in our cities, in our campaigns and our villages.

I call on the people of France to join us, with all their strength, with all their energy, with all their heart!

To all the French, and to you my friends, I say to you:

The most beautiful days are those we are going to live.

Long live the National Front, Long live the Republic Long live France!

Appendix 2

Second extract:(15 September, 2013)

‘Université d’été 2013 : Discours de Marine Le Pen’

[Summer conference 2013: Speech by Marine Le Pen]

My dear compatriots, from Marseille, from mainland France, from overseas and abroad,
I think we can be proud of these summer schools.

Your interventions, your contributions, your reflections, to all of you, are for me a useful subject.
I still need this soil, the fertile ground of your ideas, to continue to enrich my project for France!
Thanks to all the speakers! And congratulations!

... Our strategy is first of all, to put into action of a very simple principle: to always give
privilege to France and to the French people. The French people united are indivisible. Unlike
many others, we do not subscribe to anyone. We are independent, and from this independence
we draw our speech of truth; we are always those who seek what is good for France and the
French.

I can measure to what extent, more than ever, France is being destabilized ...but I could also talk
about immigration, about communitarianism, of the collapse of French identity. In short of these
words that ruin our collective capacity towards fraternity and unity.

France is being destabilized in its innermost values – the policies of left and right question.

France must first regain its freedom, its freedom as a state, and its freedom as a nation.

A free France is a sovereign and independent France!

Regaining our sovereignty means regaining our legislative freedom when our most essential laws
are decided in Brussels and imposed on the French people either without their knowledge or
against their will.

It is to regain our budgetary freedom: the last of the prerogatives that remained to the
parliamentarians, that they themselves transferred to the European Commission, to make mine
today to fight between them on a budget of which they did not more mastery.

It is to regain our monetary freedom so that finally France has a currency adapted to its economy,
and that it finds the possibility of financing its debt today left to predatory financial markets;

It is to find borders – at last! Economic borders to implement intelligent protectionism, as do the vast majority of the countries of the globe, migratory borders to control human flows and fight against trafficking and criminal networks. All that my friends, supposes the questioning without delay of the European Union.

And because I believe in democracy, I will turn to the French by referendum to ask them their opinion on our membership of the European Union!

I will take down the flags of the EU, today, a symbol of submission and put up the nations flag everywhere instead.

So, I'm not talking about Europe for the sake of talking about Europe. But because the French must be more numerous to understand that nothing can be done without undoing this European Union.

Sovereignty is also the recognition of a sovereign, above whom nothing and nobody carries. In France, this sovereign is the people!

... So where does this rising crime come from?

From the state of being too lenient, but also, let us not deny it, from immigration, from a massive, uncontrolled immigration ... and how many of them illegal?

Every illegal immigrant is an offender, because in a state of laws, having no legal right to be there is an offense.

Because today it is an offense without punishment. And even, one may say, an offense that pays and one that is almost rewarded.

Emergency state benefits, emergency social housing, free schooling and free special health care. As for the right of asylum, it has gone completely astray nowadays...

Assimilation into the French nation is indispensable, and this cannot be achieved without ending legal and illegal immigration...

What I want is a France that can stand its ground faced up against savage globalization, a France that can gain back its muscle to assert its assets and protect its interest ... the nation can pick itself back up, another form of politics is possible.

Appendix 3

Third extract: (11 December 2015)

‘Discours de Marine Le Pen à Paris (10 décembre 2015)’

[Marine Le Pen’s speech in Paris (December 10, 2015)]

Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear compatriots,

Sunday, something happened! The glass ceiling that had cracked during the European and departmental elections has largely yielded.

6 million votes in a local election! The National Front leading in six regions and tied in a seventh, it never happened.

My friends I ask you to applaud our list heads who have worn our colors and with them all the activists who helped them and got this great result:

Marion, Sophie, Florian, Louis, Nicolas, Gilles, Jacques, Christophe Boudot and Christophe Canioni, Philippe, Pascal, Wallerand....

"The shock" that some media thought they heard and that made the national and world press was indeed that of a world that is beginning to waver.

As in 1989 with the collapse of the Soviet world, we heard the creaking of a cracking wall, a wall behind which an archaic system believed to be protected from the world and time, a wall behind which a ruling Caste was hoping survive from generation to generation during eternity.

Of course wise observers had not failed to notice that the system was worm-eaten, that like the Potemkin villages, it was only about appearance and lies and that it did not survive by the enthusiasm of the people, no by the happiness it engendered but by a sustained fear of change.

On Sunday, our people, the people whom the elites despise profoundly and are supremely ignorant, the people whose rulers claim to maintain their exorbitant privileges, the people of France have shaken the oligarchy, its certainties, its indifference, its arrogance.

In a few hours, the PS was wiped off the map in its northern historic strongholds; the right was sucked into the south. :

- The PS is KO

- The UMP is groggy

Mr. Valls, whose functions should appeal to the best interests of the State in this period of terrorist threats and mass unemployment, has for months been devoting all his energy to low maneuvers and small tricks. electioneering.

When, the day after the first round, he arrives on television to explain that one must "know how to remain worthy in defeat and know how to retire", one could believe for a moment that he was talking about him.

Not at all, he announced the sacrifice of his provincial socialist friends, a sacrifice that these supporters of decentralization decided on Paris. We witnessed the collective suicide of the sect of Solferino.

PS crews from the north and the south were shipwrecked and delivered us a new version of the Raft of the Medusa, you know this famous picture of Géricault drawn from a true story where survivors wrecked to cannibalism.

By sacrificing his friends, Mr. Valls, matamore sub-prefecture and incidentally prime minister, has self-promoted to the rank of campaign director of the UMP which allows him to survive, at least for a time, a political failure no head of government before him had known.

Mr. Sarkozy, meanwhile, who, as a bridge player promised a grand chlem, did not make a fold. Today, he sees himself at the head of a party whose candidates are visibly warped and sinking into a caricature of "good-thinking" which he continues imperturbably to denounce.

Not without having previously received a monstrous slap, summoned to shut up by Xavier Bertrand or to leave by Valérie Pécresse.

It is no longer audible even with great reinforcement of needy word games. Nothing says that his adventure which was to see his triumph, does not seal his final setting aside.

Clearly, my friends, this evening of December 6, the two parties the UMP as the PS, parties stamped "government" have therefore experienced a historic defeat. They who believed themselves co-owners of knowledge, morals and especially power, have seen the balance of false alternations swing: Ump succeeds the Ps, which itself succeeds Ump, which succeeds the PS...

To vary the music and to credit the illusion of change, one was content to change the name of the right-wing party or the left-wing coalition. Sunday, the people began to stop this game of dupe, to lower the curtain on this theater of shadows, to clearly indicate that this sad joke was played. Even if there is a second round and nothing is acquired, we know that the tilting movement is triggered; the battering begins to give way the door of the last dungeon of the castle.

Voters also said they preferred a new generation full of enthusiasm, freshness, values and ideas. By a clear first-round vote, they made the choice convictions, of reason in management, and especially of the nation.

From his values,

Freedom from feudalism,

Equality versus privileges,

Fraternity for the forgotten.

Thus, over the years, our compatriots have elevated the National Front to the rank of the first French political force, giving it the heavy responsibility of playing a historical political role in the crucial moments that the country is going through, and in the turmoil ahead. .

With humility and I said it with gravity, we have received this mark of trust as a badge of honor, as a responsibility that obliges us and forces us to be better every day, every day more mobilized, every day more determined.

We say it because we believe it.

Our country can disappear, be diluted in the great magma of events and erase its trace of the great book of history. From this point of view, our generation, that is, all the French today, bear a decisive responsibility on their shoulders.

Our role as patriots and national activists is to awaken our people to truth, lucidity, commitment and action.

It is to lead the battles that will lead to the great alternation, a democratic alternation that will rely on the people, a deep alternation but which will be appeased, a lasting alternation because based on millennial values that have made France:

courage,

the dedication,

work,

the search for progress.

Today, it is fashionable among our inconsistent policies to invoke "living together" as the ultimate prospect of any collective project.

This is the version of those who have nothing else to offer but an alignment of individual destinies or, more precisely, "living it together". This is the other name of the peaceful coexistence of different communities from which we hope that their antagonisms will not lead to conflict.

The "living together" is the cream pie of the supporters of the multicultural society who want to hide that a multicultural society generally turns to the multi-conflict society.

We, we are partisans of the nation, of the republican assimilation which makes the French of all origins the solidary members of a single community, the national community. But the French Republic also imposes to abide by the common rule, our customs and our ways of life, the respect of our principles of life, the acceptance of our founding values. But what appears to be obvious in any Republican is in the eyes of professors of questionable morality even scandalous or even immoral.

We refuse to bow to the politically correct if it is politically weak or suicidal. We consider these principles as intangible because they are the only ones that guarantee concord and civil peace to France, a thousand-year-old country steeped in history that must keep in memory the causes of its conflicts or condemn itself to relive them. That we do not want it!

We see it, dear friends, our fight goes beyond the small politcailleries in which our adversaries are used to reducing the political debate and of which this between-two-turn provides a sad but rich illustration. It is true that if the system does not know how to do much, it is master in the art of maintaining at any price.

The system, we know, is poorly managed but defends itself well. As early as before Sunday, the masks had fallen. The political class, initially distraught by the polls and then by the results, has been unleashed and shows itself as it is. Everyone can see it. National lists are subject to insane media pounding that is a real state campaign against opponents.

This shelling is orchestrated from the Palaces of the Republic and served by the little stonemasons of the system who come to throw their little stone. They come one by one to pour out their bile in the name of a pretended morality: thus we saw scrolling pell-mell, an august representative of the big boss, a CGTiste looking like Péponne, a millionaire in kaway expatriate, a former seller of peas not very well preserved, some unknown artists who are too happy to finally mention their name, the director of a newspaper in the north who must be called, if my memory is correct, "the voice of his master".

This shelling is mainly served by politicians with false ideas, shifty eyes, dubious methods that lack of substance, lack of project, lack of tangible results stack the promises more insane than the others, promises they know it is untenable because not financeable.

We have seen Mr. Estrosi, admittedly accustomed to abuses of language, asserted himself "resistant" even though he militates in a party approves and organizes the migratory flood of the country with the migrants.

That our compatriots of Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur know it. If tomorrow Mr. Estrosi is president of region he will finance with your money the associations that install the migrants in your villages.

These operetta resisters, who lack only the cloak and tights, clearly do not have the sense of ridicule which, it is true, has never killed anyone.

The lie, the calumny, the montages whose cream of the Caste has become a specialty, are, as we see, the usual processes of these people, of this system.

With the PS and the UMP, we are dealing with two clans of the same political mafia called UMPS and with the name change in the Republicans are called today "the RPS" and, I do not know if you're like me, but I do not want to France.

They are divided the territories, share the prebends, alternate to the direction, fight on the accessory but make block when their interests are threatened. Every minute that passes since Sunday bears witness to this anti-republican drift worthy of banana dictatorships or regimes in agony.

Since Sunday, the valves are wide open. We are living a sort of marathon of defamation that some news channels continue, servile relay of the system, like to rehearse looping.

The arguments are so ugly that they border on ridicule.

Everything goes!

To hear them, 40% of the vote, the National Front divides but 25% of the vote the UMP brings together and 18% PS saves the Republic!

Some even suggest that the National Front would be a scourge comparable to Daesch or global warming. Let us wait to see Mrs Weather predict a tsunami in Alsace if Florian is elected president, or a hurricane in Provence if Marion wins the paca.

I say it, this campaign of defamation of state ordered by the prime minister and carried out in underhand by the vice chancellor is unworthy of a modern democracy, moreover in times of so-called national unity

But it is true that the attacks were quickly forgotten, stored, to tackle more serious things: save their posts!

Without fear of ridicule, they are ready for all the compromises, for all the opportunistic denials, for all turnarounds: before the first turn, they position themselves on the right with more provocative statements than the others.

They are found the day after the first turn left more than the Socialists.

The Socialists explain in the first round how the policy of the UMP is toxic for the population until Sunday 20 H and does not hesitate to scuttle their lists for his benefit at 20:30.

As Jacques Dutronc sang long ago by mocking this political class, "they only know how to make a single gesture is to return their jacket."

At the end of the story, remember, "the jacket creaks on all sides", if you look at them that's what's happening.

One could believe that it was a caricature; it is before our eyes a reality, a sad reality. We saw yesterday the Prime Minister, with a mask of wax frozen by a perpetual "indignation", use the platform offered to him by his post for the purposes of electoral solicitation. In a ceremony meant to celebrate secularism, he thought he was authorized to launch an almost direct appeal to Muslims to vote against the lists of the first party of France. What a strange conception of secularism?

But above all, Mr. Valls sign the position of a communitarian who urges a community vote. This is serious.

In doing so it is he who flouts the principles of the Republic, it is he who undermines national unity by assigning political or elective residence of French citizens in terms of their religion. We trust our Muslim compatriots not to give in to the imbecile imprecations of a beleaguered Prime Minister.

We are telling them unambiguously that we are calling them to our side in the great national recovery that is taking shape.

They have their place. Many of them know it and have already joined us. In the chapter manipulation, what to say about these totally improbable polls which arise and which, before the election that is to say before the people are pronounced, allow the press to claim that the national front has already lost.

Again, dear friends, do not be fooled by these methods of low propaganda. I hardly dare to quote so much the nausea takes me, this tribune published in the "Nouvel Obs plus" where a certain Thierry Lecoquière presented as a doctor clearly calls to the rape of the women who voted National Front.

Shame on the so-called humanists who tolerate this through political blindness, shame on newspapers that publish such infamies, shame on those who see this and say nothing! Shame on them !

Faced with this classical wave in totalitarian regimes, I tell you, my dear compatriots, do not be afraid!

Do not be afraid! Do not let you infantilize, feel guilty, manipulate!

Do not doubt and do not demobilize!

The sun of renewal is rising!

We saw the first rays appear! In a future that is now close, Sunday in certain regions and later in all France, the country will feel the beneficial effects.

They can do nothing against the survival instinct of a people, against their deep will, against their aspiration to be themselves and to be governed according to their interests.

They can not thwart the soul of a people.

As we do not stop the sea with our arms, we do not stop the historical cycles.
We, we have a too high idea of politics and too much respect for our compatriots to admit these behaviors. They do, but you know, only strengthen our resolve.

What, would it be so unbecoming that in a democracy, the first party of a country can not be properly represented in national or local assemblies?

Would it be scandalous that a third of French people are considered as private sub-citizens of the choice of a management of their local affairs according to their wish?

We do not think so! We do not accept this intellectual terrorism! They will not give us up!
We call all French patriots to be vigilant in the polling stations in our country where, let us remember, the prime minister vociferates everywhere that it is necessary to do ALL to prevent our lists from gaining a region.

We will not abdicate our rights. We will make them respect quietly calmly with the strength of those who know that they behave well.

We have always said it: we prefer to lose on our ideas than to be elected on those of others.
We do not conceive of politics as the conquest of seats, the accession to mandates to enjoy them; we conceive of politics as a noble commitment that involves convictions, affections and commitments announced and respected.

It appears to us that respect for the people calls for a duty of truth, truth in analysis, truth in commitments, truth in action. This duty of truth, we will not derogate.

If we want power, it is not for us, it is not to enjoy it like those notables installed in the system, it is not to delegate it to other instances like the idle kings who govern us, it is to return it to the people who are, in our democracy and in our eyes, the only sovereign in our country.

The French people must be able to decide in all clarity, we would say today to be fashionable "in all transparency".

It seems important to us not to confiscate power but to share it with him, to associate him, to carry him with us in the action we are taking.

We will do it at the level of the regions that our compatriots will do the honor to entrust to us, we will do it tomorrow, I hope, at the head of the State.

Everyone realizes today that there is no change of policy and methods without change of men.
In the same way, without will, without vision, without a political project built, there are no reforms to hope for and therefore results to wait.

Everyone understands, we can not continue like this. The political practices of the system, the turpitudes of the political caste, are both the mark and the cause of the French decline.

Many of our compatriots have taken refuge in abstention by fatalism in the face of such inertia, tired of broken promises, often disgusted by the political customs in force.

They can today, they must today say to themselves that the time of change so hoped for has come. It is up to them to seize the opportunity. To them, by their vote, to accompany a real political change that they have hoped for so much.

The choice of National Front lists is naturally the choice of new teams to lead the regional policies, it is also the support for a political movement of emancipation, rehabilitation of the policy without which there will be no collective project, no real alternative, no future for our country.

As elections go by, we enter a new cycle of our modern political history and this movement is inexorable.

An old world is disappearing before us!

A new one is emerging and we are at the forefront of this change, what do I say about this change, this massive political upheaval?

From an institutional point of view, France confirmed Sunday at 20h the establishment of political tripartism.

It did not take long for the withdrawals of the PS lists to benefit the Ump to reduce this tripartism to a bipartisan one.

Officially limited to two regions, this erasure of redundant political forces is set to spread when the ultra-liberal PS of a Valls and a Macron will join the leftist UMP of Juppé in a coalition that Mr. Dray has already described as "Rainbow", and to whom I had, several months ago, found a name "the ROM" Rally of World Organizations.

The political suicide of the PS for the benefit of the UMP we attended is not a surprise but rather a public clarification.

It only brings to light a great deception that explains the false alternations of the last thirty years between apparently competing forces but in fact perfectly connected.

This political swindle was done, in the backs of the French, to their detriment and for the greatest misfortune of the country.

But above all, the situation we are witnessing highlights the new political divide around which French political life is now structured.

It separates the globalists and the patriots, between those who accompany or even organize the disappearance of our millennial nation and those who work on its renewal, between those who have resigned themselves to oblivion and those who fight, standing up without fail for the radiation of our country.

It will be the big cleavage, that of the presidential elections. It is already that of regional.

Therefore, I call on all voters who feel patriotic, regardless of their first-round vote, to overcome the left-right divide that no longer makes sense and to vote next Sunday for the National Front lists.

Our regional project or rather our regional projects because we are respectful of the identities of our regions, proceeds from this spirit.

I said it and I repeat it even to disappoint our opponents who would like us to look like the caricature they make of us.

We will implement a peaceful alternation, in the regions that we will be entrusted, there will be no witch hunt.

We intend to work first with the agents of these communities, of which we know, for years alongside them in our mandates of regional advisers, the professionalism and the dedication to the public service.

Because we believe that we do not own the burdens we have, we intend to work with all communities and elected officials without distinction.

The key word will not be ideology but pragmatism.

It is not for us to overthrow some table. It would be childish, derisory, useless.

Quietly, with professionalism, we will open each file, we will audit each regional action, we will measure the cost benefit of each policy.

It is only after this work that we will decide to stop, to reform to continue what had been implemented by our predecessors.

We have the immense advantage of being free people and this makes us, in the political class, a real exception. We will not be elected to pressure groups, interest groups, or political or trade union feuds, we only owe it to the people.

It is for our regions the assurance that the decisions will be dictated only by the general interest, that is to say concretely the regional interest and, it is logical for us nationals, by the national interest.

This freedom to think and act according to the common good is the guarantee for all citizens of an individual treatment of a perfect objectivity.

We will be the relationship of those who do not have one. There will be no favors, no favors, no community to buy, no customers to serve, no networks to thank.

However, because we also know that we are not the owners of the mandates entrusted to us by the electors, that you have entrusted to us, we will keep our promises and implement the program on which we will have been elected.

Beyond our respective regional projects, all very thoughtful, very strong we intend to manage without losing the thread of our values: national interest, regional interest, management rigor, ethics.

These big regional projects, we will implement with you because we believe in the collective intelligence and we will implement them for you because the clanism makes us horror.

In our cities, Hénin Beaumont with Steeve, Beaucaire with Julien, Fréjus with David, Villers Cotterêt with Frank, ...the alternation went smoothly, the reforms were put in place and the inhabitants testify by their votes to the Europeans, to the departmental and now regional to their satisfaction.

My friends, what our opponents fear is not our failure at the head of the community is our success, it is actually the proof that their last argument does not hold.
Their argument of fear, the last one that has collapsed in our cities and that they are so afraid of losing with our access to the head of our regions.
So my friends, let's erect this old system, let's look ahead.
I call you to hope, to active hope.

Each voice will count in the fundamental struggle we are waging for our country, for our people, for their liberties, for their unity.
This fight is the fight of generations that preceded us so that France is the one we love and who did what we are.

It is also the fight for our children because of its outcome depends, we are all aware here, the survival of the French as a people, strong, proud and free.
Sunday at the citizens' ballot box!
Long live the French Republic
And

Long live France !

Appendix 4

Fourth extract: (5 February, 2017)

‘Assises présidentielles de Lyon : Discours de Marine Le Pen’

[Lyon presidential session: Speech by Marine Le Pen]

Ladies, Gentlemen,

Dear compatriots of metropolis, from overseas or from abroad,

If you are here as numerous today, it is that you have understood, and the recent news has brought a brilliant demonstration, that against the right of the money and the left of the money, I am the candidate of France of the people.

In all respects, this presidential election is not like the others; it brings into play a crucial debate that engages our country fundamentally.

From its outcome, will depend the continuity of France as a free nation and for those who like us feel above all French, our existence as a people.

After decades of error and cowardice, after false alternations of denials and letting go, laissez-passer, laissez-faire, we are at a crossroads.

I say it with gravity: the choice we will have to make in this election is a choice of civilization. Our leaders chose deregulated globalization, they wanted it to be a happy thing, it turned out to be awful.

Proceeding only by the research of some of the hyper profit, it develops at a double level, globalization from below with massive immigration, global social dumping, and globalization from above with the ‘financialization’ of the economy.

The globalization that was a fact with the multiplication of exchanges, they made it an ideology: the economic globalism which refuses any limitation, any regulation of the globalization and which, for that, weakened the immune defenses of the Nation, the dispossessed of its constitutive elements: frontier, national currency, authority of its laws, conduct of the economy, thus allowing another form of globalism to be born and grow: Islamist fundamentalism...

These two globalism, today, are the short scale:

* The financial and business-oriented globalism of which the European Union, finance and the essence of a domesticated political class are the zealous servants;

* Jihadist globalism that undermines our vital interests abroad, but also that is implanted on our national territory, in certain neighborhoods, in certain places, in some weak minds.

And both of them work for the disappearance of our nation, that is, of France in which we live, which we love, which is why the French have a feeling of dispossession.

These two ideologies want to subject our countries.

One in the name of globalized finance, that is to say the ideology of all trade, the other in the name of a radicalized Islam, that is to say, the ideology of all religious...

Faced with these two totalitarianisms that threaten our freedoms and our country, we no longer have the time, nor the means of angelism, false pretenses, small arrangements, great cowardice...

Let's not forget either, but we keep it in our bruised memories, that Islamist fundamentalism is barbarous, that it manifests itself every day in the world by killing, massacring, using in particular the foul and cowardly weapon of terrorism or mass murder.

As in all ideological struggles, there are useful idiots, relays, and more or less conscious accomplices who, out of cowardice, blindness or greed, facilitate these enterprises of installation of this barbarian ideology, enemy of France.

To progress, the supporters of these two globalist ideologies give the illusion of relying on our principles; in reality, they falsely invoke liberty to install their totalitarianism: it is the freedom of the fox in the henhouse...

Since we are at war against Islamist fundamentalism, we will apply to the enemies of France the legal devices of the state of war.

We will give ourselves the appropriate technical and human means and will create the conditions and the cooperation necessary for intelligence on the national territory as well as on the outside. Foreigners stocked will be returned to the border.

Binationals busted will be deprived of their French nationality and, the ambiguity on their actual nationality being lifted, they will be returned to their country.

The French caught will be pursued for intelligence with the enemy and struck with national indignity.

The places of Islamic preaching will be closed and the sowers of hatred condemned and expelled.

The legal showcases of Islamism, especially on the internet, will be extinguished.

However, we do not intend to sacrifice the freedom of citizens to safety...

Be aware that this fight for sovereignty is first, principal, essential, cardinal, it conditions all the rest.

Without sovereignty, no protection possible, no action possible.

Without sovereignty, a project becomes a false promise.

My opponents claim to control the borders, return to the right of the soil, prevent immigration, fight against unfair competition.

They lie to you.

By refusing to free themselves from the straitjacket of the European Union which is the decision-maker on these subjects, they refrain themselves any inflection even minor.

Worse, staying in the euro, they plague our economy, maintain mass unemployment and give the European Union the means of pressure to impose its views, its inane directives, its millions of migrants.

Everyone agrees, the European Union is a failure. She did not keep any of her promises, especially on prosperity and security, and worse, she put us under tutelage, kept on a short leash. Who could be satisfied to do nothing in front of a system that connects us, which does not work and worse whose dysfunctions ruin us?

That's why, once elected I will announce the organization of a referendum within the first six months of my mandate on whether to stay or leave the EU. I will then engage in talks with our partners, and trust me, they have similar aspirations to sovereignty – to renegotiate the terms of our contract with this tyrannical Europeanist system which is not a project anymore but a historical parenthesis and, hopefully one day, just a bad memory.

The goal will be to find within six months a compromise that allows us to recover our four sovereignties: monetary, economic, legislative and territorial.

If the European Union does not submit, then I will ask the French to vote in the referendum to resign from this nightmare and become free again.

In the same spirit, because we think that France is only great when it makes its voice heard which is that in favor of independence and global balance, we will leave the integrated command of NATO; we will re-examine our diplomacy in the light of our national interests and we will give the means of our domestic and foreign policy by rebuilding our military potential...

My commitment is to put France back on track in five years. In practice this concerns all sectors of our life:

Put our economy back in order

Put the school back in order

Put our justice in order

Putting our diplomacy in order

Put our security back in order

Put back our solidarity in order

To do this, we need everyone.

We open our arms to all those who share with us the love of France and who wish to engage our country on the path of national recovery...

This cleavage no longer opposes the right and the left, but the patriots to the globalists.

In this presidential election, we represent the camp of the patriots...

We urge all patriots from right or left to join us. Elected or ordinary citizens, wherever you come from, whatever your commitments may have been, you have your place at our side.

Patriots, you are welcome!

As it is possible that presidents like Donald Trump, not only are elected against a coalition system, but above all respect their promises and act quickly and strongly in the interests and wishes of their people.

You see it, my dear friends. As Victor Hugo proclaimed in the Terrible Year after the defeat of France: "We have not finished being French yet!"

This awakening of peoples is historic. It marks the end of a cycle. The wind of history has turned.

He will take us to the top and, with us, our country: France.

Long live the people!

Long live the Republic !

Long live France !

Appendix 5

Fifth extract:(23 April, 2017)

‘Allocution de Marine Le Pen au soir du premier tour de l’élection présidentielle’

[Speech by Marine Le Pen at the evening of the first round of the presidential election]

“My dear compatriots,

You have sent me through to the second round of the presidential election.

I accept this honor with humility and gratitude.

I extend to you patriotic voters of France, my deepest thanks.

The first step on the path that will lead the French people on the Elyse has been completed.

This result is historic.

I now take on the immense responsibility of defending the French nation, its unity, its security, its culture, its prosperity and its independence.

What we have seen today is an act of French pride, a people lifting their heads, a people sure of their values and confident in the future.

The people of France must now seize the historic opportunity that presents itself.

Because what this election is about is the savage globalization that endangers our civilization.

The people of France face a simple choice:

Either we continue on the path of total deregulation, no borders, no protection, and everything that entails jobs being shipped overseas, unfair competition, mass immigration, the free movement of terrorists.

A world where money is king.

Or you choose France, with borders that protect our workers, our purchasing power, our security, our national identity.

You have the choice to bring about change.

Real change.

Time has come to free the French people, all the people, without forgetting our compatriots in the overseas departments, who have placed in me a trust that honors me. The time has come to free the French people of the arrogant elite who seek to tell you how to live your lives.

Because yes, I am the people’s candidate.

I call on all sincere patriots, wherever they come from, whatever their origin, whatever their background, however they voted in the first round, to join me.

I call on them to leave aside all quarrels, preconceptions and grudges, for the greater good of the country.

It is vital, truly vital, at stake is: the survival of France.

I call on them to unite behind our project of recovery.

We will welcome them as brothers.

On August 8th, 1943, General De Gaulle said in Casablanca that: « the grandeur of a people precedes only those of the people ».

It is this principle, which during its one thousand five hundred years of history, has shaped the France that we love.

It is this principle that I would put in place.

The gathering of the French people to which everyone aspires can be done only around the love of France.

Long live the French people!

Long live the Republic!

Long live France!